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ABSTRACT

In the survey of American Indian Education carried out by the special senatorial subcommittee on Indian education, the attempt was to set a pattern for hearings that would provide representative coverage of the problems in the geographical areas concerned. To supplement these hearings, the staff was instructed to make detailed field studies following a similar pattern. The field studies published cover the following areas: the Navajo Reservation in Arizona; the State of California; the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho; the State of Alaska; the State of Minnesota; and the States of New York and Maine. Information contained in each of the reports was gathered from a number of sources and in a variety of ways. In the case of each report except New York, personal visits were made by members of the subcommittee, or staff, to the particular area under consideration. These visits typically included 4 persons and lasted from 1 to 3 days, preceded by 4 to 7 days of preliminary field work. Their objective was to observe first hand the conditions of Indian education; to discuss with Indian leaders, Indian parents, and Indian students their perceptions of the problems facing Indian education; and to solicit testimony and data from educational leaders and experts in mental health and other relevant fields. The objective was to define the problem and to listen to suggestions for productive new approaches to improvement. (LS)

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FIELD INVESTIGATION AND RESEARCH REPORTS

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SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND
PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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FOREWORD

An important portion of the work accomplished by the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education has been in the area of field investigations and research reports.

These field studies were designed to provide in-depth perspectives of the problems the subcommittee uncovered, and to serve as a major supplement to the subcommittee's hearings.

This compilation of subcommittee field reports and research studies is printed as a committee document because the question of adequate schooling for Indian children has significance for the entire spectrum of Indian affairs—health, employment, and all others. Moreover, this material may be helpful to other public officials, concerned citizens, and scholars.

The subject is both timely and extremely critical. I hope that this background report will be of value and assistance.

RALPH YARBOROUGH,
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Hon. Ralph Yarborough
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Dear Mr. Chairman: In the survey of American Indian Education carried out by the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, we attempted to set a pattern for hearings that would provide representative coverage of the problems in the geographical areas concerned. To supplement these hearings, the staff was instructed to make detailed field studies following a similar pattern. The field studies published herein—cover the following areas:

Southwest: Navajo Reservation, State of Arizona.
West: State of California.
Northwest: Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho.
North: State of Alaska.
Midwest: State of Minnesota.
East: State of New York; State of Maine.

Information contained in each of the reports was gathered from a number of sources and a variety of ways. In the case of each report except New York, personal visits were made by members of the subcommittee, or staff, to the particular area under consideration. These visits typically included four persons and lasted from 1 to 3 days, preceded by 4 to 7 days of preliminary field work. Their objective was to observe first hand the conditions of Indian education; to discuss with Indian leaders, Indian parents, and Indian students, their perceptions of the problems facing Indian education; and to solicit testimony and data from educational leaders and experts in mental health and other relevant fields. In short, the objective was to define the problem and to listen to suggestions for productive new approaches to improvement.

In addition to preparatory staff field work and subcommittee field visits, followup visits, conversations, and correspondence were used extensively for clarification and the gathering of new information. The existing body of research and descriptive literature constituted the third source of information.

The subcommittee has labored long and hard to determine exactly where the failures in the field of Indian education lie. Staff field studies were extremely helpful to the subcommittee members, and were considered fully during preparation of the subcommittee report.

Field reports in this print are being published as a service to the Congress, the executive agencies, the States, local subdivisions, teachers, administrators, students and scholars in the field. We hope the reports help them to see the Indian education programs, and their shortcomings, as we saw them.

I would like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the subcommittee to Mr. Stephen A. Langone, of the Government and General Research Division of the Legislative Reference Service, for his hard work and constructive analysis in assembling this material.

EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education.

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I. Introduction

With research and quantitative information providing hard data, descriptive anecdotal information in the field reports provides us with distinguishing essence of each particular, local situation. Special problems in each area, innovative efforts in curriculum development or educational programs, new community initiatives—these are included. What emerges is a portrait of differences among the various Indian tribes and the realization that schools—whether Federal or public, private or missionary—must recognize and respect these differences if they are effectively to serve Indian students.

The field studies—while designed to sample geographic areas—create a picture indicating the failure of formal education to prepare the Indian to participate in American society. Approximately half of the total Indian population of the United States lives in areas selected for field studies, and these areas exemplify a variety of educational conditions and some unique educational problems.

The story of Navajo education, for example, is a recital of an Indian tribe with unusual problems. With over 100,000 tribal members scattered on a reservation of over 12 million acres extending into four States, transportation and the location of school facilities become a serious problem. The scarcity of roads on the Navajo reservation has created a pattern of schooling in which thousands of elementary age children are transported to boarding schools away from home and family. The reliance on elementary boarding schools for educating young children, and on off-reservation, nontherapeutic boarding schools for older Navajos are disturbing features of Navajo education.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is responsible for educating more than half of the Navajos. The BIA reported that for the 1966–67 school year, the allocation of funds for education was $34,574,286. There are 3,142 Bureau employees ministering to the needs of the 21,575 students enrolled in 80 Navajo area schools; 49 boarding, 10 day, four trailer day, six bordertown dormitories, one reservation dormitory, and one off-reservation school.

Historically, the Navajo educational program indicates a prime emphasis placed on providing facilities for all Navajo children, and it has resulted in a concentration on numbers attending school. While this is quite understandable considering the formidable obstacles to be overcome in providing school facilities for a reservation of this size, the focus must be on the quality of education that the Navajo student is receiving—not only on whether all Navajo children are in school. As a rough index to the success of any educational program, the number of high school graduates and the number of drop-outs are very important. One of the studies submitted to the subcommittee reported that Indians are older at every grade level and drop out with more frequency at every grade level than non-Indians. In addition, it was found that those who continue in school fall progressively further behind as they continue.

But what of the Navajo that graduates from high school and goes on to college? It was found that of 100 Indian students at the University of New Mexico, during 1954–1958, 70 percent were dropped for low grades. Of the remaining students, the majority were at some time placed on probation for inadequate scholarship.

The greatest criticism of boarding schools is aimed at those of the elementary level, which result in the separation of parents and children during the early formative years and consequently bring into play a conflict of cultures. Although no one anticipates that boarding schools will be done away with in the near future—basically because of the road and transportation system—there are many improvements that can be made at this time, even while plans can be initiated to proceed with a road construction program directly related to schools and future school construction. Although BIA officials in the Navajo area acknowledge that more and better roads would eliminate the need for many boarding schools, the Bureau has never requested or required a study on the Navajo Indian Reservation showing the effect of road construction on the proposed school construction and operations. Administrative procedures in the Bureau require that separate proposals be submitted for road construction and school construction, indicating a lack of understanding of the relationship between the two.

Considering that boarding schools in the Navajo Reservation are going to be with us—at least in the near future—what can be done in the way of improvement? The field study indicates that one of the most severe problems with the schools is the inadequate number of personnel. Average ratio of staff (dormitory aides or instructional aides) to students is 1 to 72; psychologists 1 to 1,059; guidance supervisors 1 to 1,225 and counselors 1 to 690. The Indian Health Committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics recommends a ratio of dormitory aides to students as 1 to 15 rather than 1 to 72, as on the Navajo Reservation. Unfortunately, in addition to the staffing problem, the field studies found the actual plant facilities to be woefully inadequate, with limited privacy (even to the extent of having two children share the same bed), 16 to 20 students in a room, and the buildings described as "large and stark."

Unfortunately, studies of the academic and pyschological effects of the bordertown program are few in number and the progress toward success is difficult to determine. Available evidence suggests that students in the bordertown program are, academically, relatively successful. But it must be remembered that these students represent, by definition, better than average students. One wonders whether these students would not have continued to achieve had they continued in their previous program.

Another of the problem areas pinpointed is the lack of background and understanding of the Navajo culture, resulting in a lack of ability to come to grips with the problem. For example, the BIA has an "orientation" program that lasts 2 weeks at the most. This is to prepare an administrator or teacher to participate in a program that will effect an Indian's entire lifetime. If such an orientation program is effective, then could we provide Indians with a 2-week "orientation" program that would make them knowledgeable about non-Indian culture? History teaches us we cannot teach them this in their academic career.

One of the very positive aspects of the BIA education program was brought out in the field study—that is the area of TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language). The Bureau has been very much concerned for years in this area, and has done excellent work providing bilingual readers, dictionaries, descriptive grammar, and other materials developed with relation to specific Indian languages long before the current popularity of the TESL programs throughout the country.

In the California field report, the committee staff found that of all States with increasing Indian population, California was unique in that the increase was caused not only by births but by Indians from other States moving to California. Estimates indicate that the current Indian population of the State may be 100,000. There are still 76 reservations in the State which range in size from less than 1 acre to more than 10,000 acres. One of the most important Indian education programs (Johnson-O'Malley, 48 Stat. 596) has not been available to the State of California since 1958. The difference in Johnson-O'Malley funds and other programs designed to provide financial assistance to States in the field of education is that JOM was intended to be used for programs designed to meet the specific needs of Indian children, rather than providing additional dollars for educational programs in general. There was, is, and has been—as pointed out in the field study—considerable controversy concerning nonavailability of JOM funds to the State of California.

The State of California is responsible for the education of Indian children in the State, and during 1967 reported 13,292 Indian students enrolled. Available statistics on California Indian college students are inadequate because Federal scholarships have not been available to Indians until this year. The State educational program has no special approach for Indian students, but rather is geared to equal education of all, which is not very effective for Indian students since they do not have the social, economic or cultural background necessary to benefit from such a program. Dropout rates, according to the California Commission on Indian Affairs are—in high schools—three times higher for Indians than for non-Indians, with some schools reporting dropout rates for Indians as high as 75 percent. (While California Indian educational problems reflect those throughout the country, increased attention is being paid to the matter within the States, both by government and Indians.)

During the Fort Hall, Idaho field investigation, it was again found that "a strict treatment of education alone would be virtually impossible. The problems of Indian education are inextricably bound up with economic, political, and social problems confronting the Indian individual and the Indian community in America. To attempt to completely unravel the education thread could only have produced half-understandings and half-truths."

At Fort Hall, there are approximately 3,000 Indians with a large percentage below the age of 20. This makes for a greater financial burden upon families for food, clothing, education, and other expenses. The death rate is above the national average, and above the national Indian average with influenza, pneumonia, homicide, accidents, tuberculosis, suicide, dysentery, and measles leading the list of causes. Over 50 percent of all reservation homes are considered—by Government officials—as unfit for human habitation. In half of the homes, privies, and safe drinking water are nonexistent. Since 1964, a housing improvement program has been started (60 new homes to date) but the subcommittee staff still found a box car and two-room cabin homes during its study of the reservation. The span of language use on the reservation indicates that in 25 percent of the homes, English is used exclusively. At the other extreme, a native language is used exclusively in 20 percent of the homes. It is quite common to find many Fort Hall Indians in their 20s using a mixture of English and Indian languages, which creates difficulties in communication with speakers—Indian and non-Indian—of standard English.

The problem facing the children entering the school system from a non-English-speaking home, or a home where the language is a mixture of English and native language, is that the child is faced with an instructor pressuring the child to use English well. As an intuitive defensive mechanism, the Indian child remains silent when possible. This results in slower progress, and eventually in falling behind other class members.

Fort Hall has a relocation program financing Indians moving to cities for employment opportunities. The subcommittee staff found the program has been quite unsuccessful—based on the Bureau's own statistics—with 80 percent of the relocatees returning to the reservation. The Bureau explanation of this very high return rate points out that some are dismissed for drinking, fighting, poor attitudes, lack of interest, and motivation. Others are homesick or find adjustment to urban living presenting too much stress and strain. The subcommittee staff felt that "Relocation was the unsuccessful piece of the generally successful strategy to dump the Indians on the welfare rolls of States with heavy urban concentrations." Employment at Fort Hall is a continuing problem since there are not enough jobs on the reservation or in the area. The total labor force at Fort Hall is approximately 1,301. Of this number, 52 percent are unemployed. During March of 1968, it was found that of the 48 percent with employment (approximately 676), there were only 372 with permanent jobs.

Natural resources of the Fort Hall Reservation are of tremendous benefit to the non-Indian lessees, and—in comparison—of only slight benefit to the Indian owners. The use of Indian land at Fort Hall by Indians has decreased from 39 percent of the arable lands in 1963, to only 19 percent in 1967. It was startling to find that in 1967 there was not "a single totally operational, full time Indian cash-crop farm," and that in the last 20 years Indian-owned cattle had decreased in numbers by 66 percent. Fort Hall is not a barren area without potential for development, nor is it without natural resources; in fact the reservation has rich potential in resources and fine land for agriculture as can be evidenced by the number of non-Indians utilizing these resources.

Another important resource at Fort Hall is phosphate, now mined—under lease—by the Simplot Co. and the Food Machinery Corp. During

1968, this was an important source of income to the tribe. Individual tribal members shared a total of $450,912 in income. The ore is classified into three royalty rate categories with differing royalties for each. There has been some difference of opinion concerning the proper classification of ore and the resulting royalties with Government officials reporting fairly serious errors and misunderstanding of leasing operations resulting in lower royalty returns.

The very high suicide rate at Fort Hall is probably a direct result of the culture conflicts and the economic squeeze. During a 7-year period the staff found the suicide rate was over 10 times the national average. In one study, made available to the subcommittee, the researcher found that each case indicated—

> * * * Early difficulties in school, problems with the law or one form or another of drug abuse. The individuals in this study * * * seemed to have consistently experienced early and prolonged social and emotional deprivation.

In the field investigation of education, it was found that of the 964 Fort Hall Indian children in school, 923 were enrolled in the public schools. The dropout rate for one class entering school during the 1956–57 year was 80 percent, with the major increase coming after the 8th grade. Again, the staff came face to face with a familiar problem: the textbooks presented a negative picture of the Indian, or, as Dr. Deward E. Walker of the University of Idaho stated, many textbooks are of "obviously negative character." Indian education at Fort Hall is and has been unsuccessful. The public schools have failed to fulfill the responsibility entrusted to them of educating Indian children, and the failure is adequately documented by the high dropout rates and the barely passing grades for those remaining in school.

The situation in Alaska was found to be similiar and yet dissimilar to the Navajo. Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts residing in Alaska number approximately 53,000, or one-fifth of the total population of the State. Most of the natives live in towns and villages scattered throughout the State. Recent years have found the natives moving into urban areas at an increasing rate, in some cases doubling the size of cities. The Alaskan situation is unusual in that reservations as such (other than two) do not exist; it is a system of villages and towns. As indicated in the field study, it is exceedingly difficult to separate "education" in Alaska from all the other related factors, such as diet, employment, sanitation, et cetera. Consequently, the field study takes cognizance of these areas as they relate to education.

Alaskan natives are a young group, with the median age at 16.3 years. Seventy-seven percent are under the age of 35. Youthfulness, as reflected by the above statistics, is a result of a short lifespan, a high birth rate, and recent reductions in infant mortality. The native population of Alaska, far from disappearing, is on the increase with a birth rate double that of the United States as a whole. The Alaskan Natives, like the Navajos, still retain a viable culture; furthermore, they want to continue to do so. But as Brewton Berry pointed out (Committee Print entitled "The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature"):

> In all the literature on Indian education * * * the objective is assimilation, implied or explicit, partial or complete. Educators, accordingly, while they invariably have been committed to the

> assimilation of the Indian have disagreed (1) as to how much coercion should be applied, and (2) to what degree of assimilation they should seek.

The fact that Indian cultures remain despite hundreds of years of attempts to "civilize" the Indian, attests to the Indians tenacity in keeping their cultural identity.

The conditions of Alaskan Natives are deplorable, with most being unemployed or seasonally employed. Only about 25 percent of the work force has permanent employment, and unemployment fluctuates from 25 to 60 percent. Permanent job possibilities in the villages are limited, and therefore natives usually gather the bulk of their food supply by fishing, hunting, and trapping, and use this means to obtain cash for fuel, tools, et cetera. Median per capita income figures are not available for urban Eskimos and Aleuts, but urban Indian per capita income was $1,863, compared to whites of the same year at $4,768. The high cost of living aggravates the problem with basic commodities costing from 23 to 74 percent more than in lower States.

Health conditions are shocking. Twenty-five percent of the infants die during the first year, and a normal life span is calculated at 34.5 years. Significant hearing handicaps were found in 38 percent of the children, many have chronic upper respiratory infections, bronchiectasis, tuberculosis (10 times the national average), impetigo, skin infections, infectious diarrhea, hepatitis and even dysentry and typhoid fever are not uncommon. The Division of Indian Health has noted that general malnutrition is a contributing factor to many illnesses, that it increases the susceptibility to infections, and reduces the capacity to recover. Of the diets examined, 75 percent or more were low in vitamin A and thiamin; 25 percent were low on riboflavin.

Housing conditions are shocking. Alaskan Natives housing is the most primitive, dilapidated, and substandard housing in the United States. 7,100 of the 7,500 homes are beyond repair and need replacement. The conditions and crowding in the housing available (built from driftwood, lumber, plywood, or logs) has contributed to the presence and spread of various diseases. Recently, a survey indicated that of 799 houses, only 74 use well water, the others using available surface water. Only 19 of the houses had toilets and 16 of these were located in one village. Pots and pails are used indoors for human waste, and are dumped on the ground or sea ice. The annual spring flooding further inundates many villages and consequently the contents of latrines, human waste on the ground, and refuse dumps are washed through the village polluting any available water wells.

Educational levels of the Alaskan Native reflect these substandard conditions. College graduates from among the native population comprise less than 1 percent of their numbers; only 2 percent had completed high school; more than 50 percent had not gone beyond the 6th grade; 25 percent of the adults had no formal education. When a Native graduates from college it means that he has survived an elementary school dropout rate of over 60 percent; a 54-percent high school dropout rate and he is the remaining one of every 24 Natives to enter college. Overage is a significant factor in the dropout problem, with the field study pointing out that in a survey of one elementary school's dropouts, about half had been retarded 5 or more years while 7 percent were 9 or more years retarded. One study cited points out that 40 percent of the students in native schools are overage in relation to normal age/grade placement.

Since there had been some difference of opinion concerning whether the State or the BIA should operate the native school system, the field study looked into this specific problem area. It found that Natives from BIA elementary schools transferring to public high schools received better grades in high school than those from State operated rural elementary schools. Native students receiving their elementary education in State schools had the highest dropout rates.

An important factor in the consideration of the dropout rate was indicated by research establishing the fact that when Native dropouts were tested, they revealed more than enough intelligence to complete high school. This points to a problem area beyond that of ability. Teachers have often stated that one of the major reasons for dropping out is the feeling of inadequacy to cope with curriculum difficulties. One teacher said: "This deep-seated, negative attitude is often transmitted to the student early in his educational career while he is trying to learn strange and often meaningless facts in a language over which he has little command." One of the most interesting findings during the field study was that many widely used texts contained no mention of Alaskan natives, and some made no mention of the State of Alaska at all. Such a situation is highly unlikely to produce the necessary motivation on the part of native children and their negative attitude toward school.

During the Minnesota field study, the staff found Indian population for the State is estimated to be between 24,000 and 30,000, concentrated in two reservation areas and the Twin Cities area. Indian unemployment is high, median income is one-third the State level, many Indians are on welfare, and many do not have adequate housing. Employment problems being what they are, many reservation Indians leave the northern area of the State and move to urban areas. Generally, they tend to get blue-collar jobs and, as a study of Indian employment in Minneapolis found, the educational process for Indians "does not seem to be working very well * * * when judged in terms of the employment outcomes.* * *"

In the school year 1965–66 (latest statistics of this type available), there were 2,438 Indians residing on tax-exempt land attending public schools, over half in schools predominantly Indian, the balance attending schools in which Indians were a minority. Accurate statistics concerning Indians enrolled in higher education programs were not available, although it was determined that during the 1967–68 school years, 170 held State and/or Federal scholarships. One of the most encouraging pieces of information to come to light was that most who complete high school go on to further education, whether it be vocational training or college. There are no BIA schools in the State, although some Indians attend out-of-State boarding schools or mission schools. In 1967, at a meeting between State and BIA personnel, a strong recommendation was made that "schools enrolling students who qualify and are receiving Johnson-O'Malley funds explore the possibilities of innovations in education to better meet the needs of the individual students." Although Minnesota's education of Indian children yields better results than can be seen in other States, the results are not satisfactory when compared with non-Indian students in the State. Statistics on dropout rates of Indian students were estimates and the range was such as to preclude the use of any figure even as an educated guess. Culture of Indians is again a casualty in Minnesota, as stated in the Harkins' study. The schools do not provide instruction on tribal traditions or values. Part of the reason is the lack of knowledge on the subject. Another study cited (Kerckhoff) points out that this may be the reason for the Indians' poor record of academic achievement. Efforts are being made to produce materials sensitive to Indian culture, and one effort has resulted in a handbook for teachers directed toward influencing the Indian child's perception of himself and his aspirations and the teachers' attitude concerning Indians and their education. Indian adults do concern themselves with school problems, and it was found that there were two Indian PTA chairmen and Indians serving on school boards.

New York State Indians number about 15,000 and two-thirds live on 80,000 acres of reservation land. Indians of the State have a rather unique relationship to the Federal Government, with Federal authority rarely being exercised. At this time the State has virtually 100 percent responsibility for the Indian population, with the Federal Government—in recent times—only acknowledging New York Indians by providing $12 million compensation for lands taken unwillingly from the Seneca Indians for construction of the Kinzua Dam. Following this action, an office of the BIA was set up in New York and a representative was assigned to assist with a rehabilitation program. There are three all-Indian elementary schools located physically on reservations, with the balance of the Indian children attending regular public schools. Total enrollment during the 1966–67 school year was approximately 2,500 and that enrollment is expected to increase by about 2 percent a year. While the lack of statistical data makes it extremely difficult to make determinations concerning effectiveness of public school education for Indian children, it was pointed out to the subcommittee—by a State education department official that the dropout rate is significantly higher among Indians and that 18 percent of the Indian pupils need remedial and summer make-up study to maintain grade level. The State is attempting to develop summer schools for remedial work, aiming toward abandonment of the three reservation schools, the inclusion of Indian leaders in the operation of school districts and reservations, and providing educational programs—during the summer—for teachers to acquaint them with the special problems of Indian children. An additional emphasis is being placed on encouraging the participation of Indian parents in school affairs.

Maine Indians, like those of New York, are in a vacuum insofar as the Federal Government and Federal Indian programs are concerned. The subcommittee staff surveyed the reservation schools and the public schools with Indian students. During 1965, the State transferred Indian affairs from the State department of health, and welfare to an Indian affairs department. The administrative responsibility for the schools—on reservations—was placed in the department of education. From that time on, there has been an increasing effort, more concern, and more sophisticated thinking about Indian educational and other problems. One of the major problems is the strain on the State budget, and the related fact that Maine Indians do not qualify for any Federal Indian programs.

The poorest county in the State (Washington County) is where the Passamaquoddy live. Approximately 42 percent of the families earned less than $3,000 during the year 1960. Although the staff met with the usual problem of the lack of statistical data, the best estimates of high school dropout rate for Passamaquoddy Indians is approximately 90 percent. Cultural differences are again evident, with the Indian youngster going to school and instantly realizing that he is a member of a minority group. Goals are lacking, for there is little in the way of desirable employment or adequate counseling. Consequently, there is little desire to learn. Opinions of those involved, at the State and local levels, in Indian education surprisingly coincide with those expressed by Indians and others throughout the United States.

The staff found that by comparing the field studies, there were several areas and trends that—to one degree or another—clearly showed the same problems in all areas. While the studies themselves contain recommendations to solve the specific problems within an area, there is also the national approach to be considered. This approach is the concern with effectiveness of our educational system and its success when applied to the American Indian—whether he be on a State reservation, Federal reservation, or living off-reservation in a rural or urban area. The problems apply equally—although to different degrees—whether he attends public, Bureau or mission schools. Furthermore, the problem cannot be isolated as one of education alone. Throughout the studies, educational achievement was intertwined with housing, health, food, employment, unemployment, goals, culture differences, achievements, attainable goals, and self-confidence. The subcommittee staff was unable to find a clear dividing line between Indian education and other Indian programs. Consequently, the findings of the staff span the field of Indian affairs.

The "culture clash" is evident throughout the field studies. Young Indian children—many from homes where English is not spoken or not spoken well—find themselves suddenly removed from their culture and placed in the midst of another, which is presented as superior. Values, beliefs, ideas, and ideals clash, with little, if any, understanding on the part of teachers, of the problem suddenly thrust upon the child. In an alien atmosphere within his own country, the child must—almost entirely on his own—surmount what appears to be the insurmountable. The school system—if it is public—does not make allowances, does not give help, does not understand. If it is Federal—it is geared to making him a "non-Indian." For 12 years, if he is not a dropout, he will be taught the "white man's way" while the Federal Government—in teaching Federal Indian schoolteachers—provides only a 2-week (at most) orientation for teachers to learn the "Indian way." A typical reaction of the Indian child is to attend school and listen without hearing, look without seeing, and speak only when it cannot be avoided. This can only be changed by providing textbooks that picture the Indian in his proper place in the history of our country, and by providing instructors who understand and appreciate his values. Only then will he have the motivation to learn and the desire to improve. Going to a school where the Indian culture is studied, valued, and understood, will bring to the child a pride in his background and a faith in his future.

Along with this must go—hand in hand—programs designed to provide Indian tribes with sufficient capital to utilize their own lands, rather than leasing them to outsiders. Land problems such as that of "heirship" should be approached with an aggressive intent to solve the problem and return the use of such land to its rightful owners, the Indians. Indian-owned industry should be encouraged, particularly in those areas where the Indian need is the greatest such as housing, sanitation, and so forth.

One of the most serious problems encountered was the lack of meaningful information and statistics that could be provided by the BIA, the Agency of the Federal Government directly responsible for Federal Indian programs. Time after time the staff was faced with inadequate, incomplete or nonexistent information important to the conduct of such a study. One can only wonder how an agency with such a responsibility for so long a time can possibly determine the effectiveness of their own programs without having available—and without making the effort to compile it—basic information necessary to evaluation.

The following field study reports provide a detailed look at specific areas of the country and the problems faced by Indians in those areas.

II. An Overview of Subcommittee Field Studies

Research literature on Indian education forms a dismal, composite portrait of failure upon failure. Almost all investigators and observers recognize a problem; almost all seek to explain its causation. Recognizing the variety and diversity of the educational situations among tribes in different parts of the country. The subcommittee chose to study in depth a representative sample of areas with concentrations of Indian population.

Areas such as the state of New Mexico and the Pine Ridge Reservation, where comprehensive studies had been recently completed, were excluded to avoid duplication. In general, the sample, followed the pattern of subcommittee field hearings which were also designed to be representative.

Southwest: Navajo Reservation, State of Arizona.
West: State of California.
Northwest: Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho.
North: State of Alaska.
Midwest: State of Minnesota.
East: State of New York; State of Maine.

Information contained in each of the field reports was gathered from a number of sources and in a variety of ways. In the case of each report except New York, personal visits were made by subcommittee Senators and/or staff to the area under consideration. These visits typically included four persons and lasted from 1 to 3 days. Preceded by 4 to 7 days of preliminary staff field work, their objective was to observe first hand the conditions of Indian education; to discuss with Indian leaders, Indian parents, and Indian students their perceptions of the problems facing Indian education; to solicit testimony and data from educational leaders and experts in mental health and other relevant fields. In short, the objective was to define the problem; and to listen to suggestions for productive new approaches to improvement. A side effect of the visit to the Fort Hall reservation is mentioned in that field report as well. It quotes a freshman Indian high school student as saying—

> When Robert Kennedy came, that was the only time they ever showed any respect for the Indians; just on that one day, and after that they could care less.

In addition to preparatory staff field work and subcommittee field visits, follow up visits, conversations, and correspondence were extensively used for clarification and the gathering of new information. Finally, the existing body of research and descriptive literature constituted the third major source of information. Research reports dealing with Indian education in the particular field area were gathered and reviewed wherever possible. The research reported in the field studies adds specific information about a particular facet of Indian education in the field area. Taken together the research synthesis and field study approach present different but mutually reinforcing perspectives on what both agree to be the failure of formal education to prepare the Indian to participate effectively in American society.

The story of Navajo education is unique. Navajos comprise the largest tribe and live on the largest reservation in the country; until World War II Navajos were largely illiterate and unschooled despite the 1868 treaty with the Federal government in which the government promised to provide a schoolhouse and teacher for every 30 children between the ages of 6 and 16 whom the parents could "compel" to attend. The reliance on elementary boarding schools for educating young children and enrollments of older Navajo students with social or emotional problems in off-reservation, non-therapeutic boarding schools are disturbing features of Navajo education. A considerable portion of the field report is devoted to an investigation of the psychological and emotional damage that these institutions may inflict. The complete field report is a comprehensive presentation of the education, past and present, of an Indian people.

The report of education of Fort Hall Indians appears in the context of a comprehensive study of the reservation community. Whereas its focus on education is somewhat less singleminded than that of the Navajo report, the Fort Hall study probes historical background, living conditions and the use of natural resources as well. Perhaps its most striking image is the contrast between the reservation's rich natural resources and the severe poverty of its people. In addition, the repeated incidence of suicide at Fort Hall at a rate 10 times the national average, reveals a state of extreme social disorganization. A study of suicide victims showed early difficulties in school or with the law, consistent "early and prolonged social and emotional deprivation", and parental problems "often manifested by severe or chronic alcohol intoxication". Given the fact that the Indian suicide rate in general far exceeds the national average, this study assumes additional importance beyond Fort Hall's boundaries.

In its analysis of resource utilization and economic potential, the Fort Hall Field Report describes several incidents of economic exploitation of Indians by whites. The profits which belong to the Indians by virtue of ownership are instead falling into the white man's bank account, and the report raises serious questions about policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which have encouraged white aggrandizement at the expense of those who should be the Bureau's first clientele.

The abject poverty of the Idaho reservation and the examples of economic exploitation reappear as themes of the Alaska report. Detailing the conditions related to a subsistence economy, the report also presents a tragedy of sickness, disease, and physical disabilities that handicap the Alaskan youngster before he ever attends school. Both the treatment of Alaska and Fort Hall strongly suggest that significant educational improvement can not and will not come until fundamental changes are made in the Indians' economy. Both suggest, whether implicitly or explicitly that until youngsters in school are healthy, fed and can see and hear without impairment; until they can see a reason for learning, until there are successful adults in their communities with whom they might identify, and until there are opportunities for the educated youth to use his education in socially approved and useful ways, there can be little desire to learn and little learning.

Neither the Federal government nor the States have accepted the challenge of cross-cultural education presented in Alaska, on Navajo reservations, and elsewhere. As the Alaska report, the Navajo report, and practically all of the other field reports make clear, educational programs for Indians offered by both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the States are indistinguishable from the educational program followed by the middle-class child of Anglo America. The teaching of reading and history, for example, are the same—despite the fact that the native language of the Indian is probably not English, and despite the fact that his ancestors' place in history is viewed, if at all, with unfair and unflattering racial stereotypes. Although efforts are cited in several of the field reports (e.g. Alaska, Navajo, Minnesota, New York) of curriculum development activities to correct these deficiencies, the primary pattern remains one of insensitive and non-responsible domination.

More Indians live in the State of Arizona than in any other state in the nation. Despite their prevalence, however, the 80,000 Indians on 17 reservations in Arizona have fared little better than their counterparts elsewhere. The field report is strengthened by comparatively more available research data than some of the other reports; it notes inferior achievement, overage, high dropout rates, and social promotion as indices of Arizona Indians' poor educational performance. One of its most important research revelations is that hundreds of school-age children in Southern Arizona were not in school and were not accounted for by school authorities.

Despite the size of the Indian population, neither the State nor the Bureau of Indian Affairs requires their teachers to take special courses dealing with American Indians and their cultural heritage; but, for that matter, neither does any other. One particularly helpful study—an in-depth view by Edward Parmee of the San Carlos Reservation offers the following analysis:

> On most reservations as in many non-Indian communities, economic power and political power went hand-in-hand. Agencies like the BIA and Public Health Service were permitted no part in tribal politics; but, by the mere fact of their economic potential, they acted as powerful governing forces on the reservation. The Apache Tribal Council, on the other hand * * * was often frustrated in its efforts to legislate new programs or changes in existing ones because of its economic impotence and its consequent dependency on alien assistance. To the average Apache reservation inhabitant this gave not only the feeling of being dominated and of being forced into a way of life not of his own choosing, but it also had the demoralizing effect of making him feel helpless and inferior as he watched his elected leaders make often futile demands upon alien people directed by unknown or incomprehensible laws and regulations originated in a place called Washington.

In addition to dealing with educational performance as a substantive concern, the Arizona Report also treats the administrative question of dual responsibility for Indian education between the State and the Federal governments. (The Alaska report notes a similar situation.) Presumably, the trend is towards assumption by the State of the full responsibility for Indian education, but the report cites statements which reflect competition between the two. Not surprisingly, the issue of financing public education is being debated between State officials and the Federal government as more Indian pupils move out of Federal schools and into the State's public schools. (Issues related to Federal funding of Indian education, especially through the Johnson-O'Malley Act, are discussed in the California Field Report as well.)

Indian education as described in the remaining Field Reports—New York, Maine, Minnesota and California—is not primarily a Federal responsibility. In Maine, it is the responsibility of the State Department of Education; in New York, local school districts contract with the State Department of Education to educate Indian youngsters; in Minnesota, it has been under State jurisdiction since a contract between the State and the Bureau of Indian Affairs was signed in 1936; and in California, most Indians were "terminated" in the 1950's from their relationships with the Federal government.

As a group, these Field Reports present discouraging statistics about educational performance which lead to the conclusion that the States have not been more successful than the Bureau. In the case of California and Minnesota, the reports also highlight a relatively new problem area: education of the urban Indian who has moved away (or been relocated by the Bureau) from his reservation home. The accumulated evidence, as a reading of the reports will show, does not support the argument for public school superiority.

One encouraging theme that runs through the four remaining reports, however, is that of new initiative. In Maine, the Report notes that the establishment of a State Department of Indian Affairs in 1965 opened a "period of efforts at reform and amelioration, with greater concern and more sophisticated thinking about educational and other problems:" In New York, a boycott by Indian parents of the schools of one community resulted in a State study of Indian education, and several innovations (including the teaching of New York State Indian history to all students in the State, both Indian and non-Indian) attest to the State's concern for improvement. In Minnesota, a statewide Indian advisory committee was formed during 1968–69 as well as an Advisory Committee to the Minneapolis Public Schools; several other organizations with interests in Indian education have sprung up. State officials are exercising leadership for improvement and involving Indians throughout the State in their efforts. Finally, in California, the Ad Hoc Committee on California Indian Education has involved Indian people in the formation of recommendations for educational change; its most notable achievement occurred in 1966 with the first all-Indian conference on education ever held, and the publication of that conference, *California Indian Education*, the first comprehensive education statement prepared by a large and representative group of Indian people. Work of other groups in California, such as that of the American Indian Historical Society, is also described in the California Report.

Most encouraging of these new initiatives are those in which Indians themselves are playing a major role in problem definition and reform. The Navajo-controlled Rough Rock Demonstration School, described at some length in the Navajo Report, was one of the first examples of such Indian involvement, and stands as a viable alternative to current educational practices of both Bureau and public schools. The Subcommittee has frequently voiced its conviction that more Rough Rocks, more Indian control in general, will be basic to lasting educational improvement.

After over 400 years of experience educating the Indian, more or less well-intentioned groups have persisted in failure. The Coleman Report, an often quoted and highly respected study of Equal Educational Opportunity, found that the Indian in America today has the worst self-image of all minority groups. The Field Reports show poverty, unemployment, disease, and malnutrition to be far from uncommon. Add to this combination of circumstances, discrimination, a language barrier, and an absence of relevant curriculum materials and appropriately trained teachers, and it is not surprising that educational performance lags far behind.

The Field Reports indicate that educational success will rest in large measure on Indian control of education. Past educational programs, as the field reports demonstrate, have been culturally insensitive and, to a greater or lesser extent, assimilationist, and these characteristics help explain their failure. Until the Indians can exercise their own voice in shaping their destiny, imposed educational programs, however well-meaning, will be similarly doomed.

III. Subcommittee Field Studies

A. Education of the Navajos

1. Introduction

The Navajo Tribe, or, as they call themselves in their native language, "Dine," the People, number approximately 110,000, or a little less than one-fifth of the total Indian population of the United States. The creation in 1966 by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of a separate Navajo Area Office testifies to the unique position of this Southwestern tribe. With a median age of 16.8 years and the highest birth rate in the nation, the Navajos have doubled their numbers since 1942 when they were studied by Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton who estimated the population at about 55,000.

The Navajo Reservation is situated at the juncture of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah, and occupies some 24,141 square miles. It is the largest Indian reservation in the country and is frequently compared in size to the State of West Virginia. The rugged, semi-arid terrain supports herding and makes farming difficult.

Industry on the reservation is a relatively new development, and records of the BIA Navajo Area Office indicate that nearly 1,100 persons left the reservation in 1967 to take permanent positions. With unemployment ranging around 75 percent, widespread poverty, and a level of health in 1968 that is the equivalent of the 1920's, the Navajos, like other Indian tribes and other minority groups, do not enjoy the material advantages of the so-called "mainstream." Despite the fact that the Navajos and other Indian people neither value nor pursue material wealth for its own sake as eagerly as the white culture, the Tribe is seeking to emerge from poverty to a more satisfactory standard of living. As in all developing economies, education is seen as a means of furthering economic growth.

2. Statistics Concerning Navajo Education

The Annual School Census Report of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for fiscal year 1968 showed a total of 42,457 Navajo students in school between the ages of six and eighteen; they were distributed as follows:

Public Schools: 18,372.
Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools: 22,224.
Mission and other schools: 1,861.

In addition, 517 Navajos were attending college under the Tribal Scholarship Program. At the same time, 3,325 youngsters, about 8 percent of the potential student population, were not attending any school. Although the Tribe has enunciated a compulsory attendance policy, the emphasis, according to BIA Area officials, "is on persuasion," and enrollments for the 1967–68 school year "at every point during the drive were greater than at the same points last year."

The current non-enrollment figure becomes more meaningful in light of the fact that the Navajo people in 1950 had attained a median level of *one* year of schooling. Indeed, the story of Navajo education in the 50's and, to a lesser extent, in the 60's as well, is a story of increasing numbers of children enrolled in school. It is estimated that 7,000 six-year-olds enter BIA and public schools each fall.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, currently responsible for educating more than half of the Navajos in schools, reported for the school year 1966–67 that the "allocation for education was $34,574,286. 3,142 employees ministered to the needs of 21,575 students enrolled in 80 Navajo Area Schools: 49 boarding, 10 day, 4 trailer day, 6 bordertown dormitories, 1 reservation dormitory, and 1 off-reservation school. In addition, Navajo students attended 8 other off-reservation schools."[1] For 1967–68, the allocation decreased by $117,858; the number of employees increased by 519 and the number of children in school increased by 459.[2]

Statistics prepared by the BIA, December 31, 1967, show a total of 22,975 students in the BIA system distributed among types of schools as follows:

	Number	Percent
Boarding schools	18,956	82.5
Peripheral dormitories	1,964	8.5
Day schools	999	4.3
Day students in boarding schools	1,056	4.6

These figures support the generalization that Navajos in BIA schools are, most probably, in BIA boarding schools. Navajos in public schools, on the other hand, are most probably day students who live at home.

3. History of Navajo Education

The phenomena of boarding schools and that of the split responsibility for Navajo education between public, BIA, and mission schools are rooted in the history of Navajo education, which from the point of view of the Federal government, began in 1868 with its treaty with the Navajo tribe:

> In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as may be settled on agricultural parts of this Reservation, and they therefore, pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be pro-

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[1] Navajo Area Office, Division of Education. "Report for the Commissioner; School Year; 1966–1967." Mimeographed.

[2] All statistics should be read as close approximations. Different sources do not agree.

> vided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than ten years.

Having thus defined its responsibility, the government, two years later proferred the care of the Navajo tribe in Arizona and New Mexico to the Presbyterian Board of Missions, and the offer was accepted. Education of Navajos was almost entirely in the hands of mission groups subsidized by the Federal government until, in 1897, "Congress declared it to be the policy of the government thereafter to make no appropriation whatever to subsidize, through contractual arrangements, the operation of sectarian schools serving Indian groups.[3]

The first boarding school was built at Fort Defiance, Arizona, in 1883. Kluckhohn and Leighton describe this early period of Navajo education as follows:[4]

> The guiding principle of early Indian education was that children must be fitted to enter white society when they left school and hence it was thought wise to remove them from home influences and often to take them as far away as California or even Pennsylvania in order to "civilize" them faster. The policy was really to go behind the existing social organization in order to dissolve it. No effort was made to prepare them for dealing effectively with Reservation conditions. Yet more than 95 percent of the Navajo children went home, rather than to white communities, after leaving school, only to find themselves handicapped for taking part in Navajo life because they did not know the techniques and customs of their own people. * * * The children were forbidden to speak their own languages, and military discipline prevailed. Pupils thus spent their childhood years under a mercilessly rigid system which could not offer the psychological advantages of family life in even the poorest Indian home. Small wonder that many students of that era are today bitter critics of the government.

Some fifty years after the United States obligated itself to provide a school and a teacher for every thirty children who could be "induced or compelled to attend school," the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1919 found that 2,089 Navajo children were attending school when an estimated 9,613 were eligible. Furthermore, not only were the majority of Navajo young people not receiving education, those who were rarely went on to trade or vocational school.

As a result of these findings, a campaign to educate the Navajos in record time was launched in 1920; and three years later the percentage of unschooled children within the tribe had dropped from 78 percent to 67 percent. Despite parental objection, the methods used to achieve the expanded enrollment had been to limit the reservation boarding schools to the first three grades and to transport all Navajo children in and above the fourth grade to nonreservation boarding schools throughout the West and Southwest.

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[3] Robert W. Young. *The Navajo Yearbook Report Number 8 1951–61 A Decade of Progress.,* (1961), p. 47. Quoted from Felix Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, p. 242.

[4] Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton. *The Navajo* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946).

The Meriam Report in 1928 and the change of policy with the next Administration were responsible for the reduction in the number of students in boarding schools by 1932; but in 1934 there were still over 8,000 children out of a school-age population of 13,000 who did not attend schools. Under Collier's administration in the late 30's, day schools were built that provided seats for an additional 3,500 Navajo children; but the day school program did not adequately take into account the primitiveness of the road system. Reduced appropriations, and gasoline and tire rationing as a result of World War II "practically crippled the system." [5]

By the end of the Second World War, a study of school requirements on the Navajo reservation commissioned by the BIA pointed to the fact that 66% of the Navajo population had no schooling whatsoever and that the median number of school years among members of the Tribe was less than one, at a time when the median for the Indian population of the United States generally was 5.7 and that of the general population 8.4. It is not surprising that Selective Service records from 1943 to 1946 showed that 88% of Navajo men ages 18 to 36 were illiterate.

In 1946 a special five year Navajo Educational Program was initiated at Sherman Institute in California for some 290 Navajo students between the ages of 12 and 18 all of whom had little or no previous schooling. The program, later replicated in other boarding schools, was designed as a "crash" attempt to provide knowledge of written and spoken English and salable skills. As described in the Navajo Yearbook: [6]

> The total 5-year program was designed to place emphasis in the first 3 years on oral and written English, arithmetic, science, and social adjustment, along with generalized vocational experience. The Navajo language was used when necessary during the first year as a medium of instruction, but at the end of the third year the student was expected to have attained approximately a 6th grade level in academic achievement, at which time he would choose a vocation and the emphasis would shift to vocational training for the 4th and 5th years.

The Special Program reached its peak enrollment in the mid-fifties; in 1955, 5,519 Navajos participatel, half at the Intermountain Boarding School in Utah, and the remainder primarily at Sherman (California); Chilocco (Oklahoma); Stewart (Nevada); Chemawa (Oregon); Albuquerque (New Mexico); and Phoenix (Arizona). Subsequent employment of graduates of the Special Program, shown in the following table, indicates the program's success.

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[5] Lawrence C. Kelley. *The Navajo Indian and Federal Indian Policy 1900–1930*, "Education, Health, and Politics." In this chapter, the author describes educational history of the 1920's and the 1930's in great detail; this discussion of that period's drawn heavily from his work. (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1968).

[6] Robert W. Young. *The Navajo Yearbook Calendar Year 1955* (Navajo Agency: Window Rock, Arizona, 1955).

SPECIAL PROGRAM—STATUS OF GRADUATES BY SCHOOL, 1951-57, INCLUSIVE

Status of graduate	Albuquerque		Chemawa		Chilocco		Haskell		Intermountain		Phoenix		Sherman		Stewart		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Armed services	5	0	9	0	11	0	0	0	54	0	7	0	16	0	15	0	117
Employed off reservation	26	25	54	45	78	58	5	1	256	199	35	34	127	96	56	51	1,146
Employed on reservation	8	6	6	2	15	14	0	0	21	11	8	2	8	9	3	3	116
In school off reservation	1	1	2	0	4	4	0	0	2	5	2	1	1	3	0	1	27
In school on reservation	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Housewives off reservation	....	10	....	3	....	5	....	0	....	28	....	6	....	18	....	9	79
Housewives on reservation	....	12	....	7	....	6	....	0	....	10	....	6	....	27	....	6	74
Deceased	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	8
Hospitalized	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	3	2	0	15
Unemployed off reservation	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	7	1	3	2	8	1	0	0	27
Unemployed on reservation	11	6	7	3	3	1	2	2	21	44	3	4	19	26	2	1	155
Uncertain	0	2	6	3	2	0	0	0	4	7	2	0	4	0	0	0	30
Unknown	6	5	8	2	4	10	1	1	32	9	3	5	30	35	18	11	180
Total	59	70	95	65	123	98	8	4	399	315	63	61	221	218	96	82	1,977

Source: Young, Robert W., "The Navajo Year Book, Fisca Year 1957." Navajo Agency, Window Rock, Ariz., 1957.

The Long-Range Rehabilitation Act in 1950, the next important act of the Federal government affecting Navajo education, authorized the appropriation of $25,000,000 over a ten-year period for school construction purposes. Robert Young, the compiler of the Navajo Year Book estimates that approximately $13.5 million of Federal funds went for public school construction in the decade under PL 815 as well. This, added to a cost of $2,235,000 for public school classroom expansion and $33,273,500 for Bureau school construction, bring to a total of $49,008,500, the amount spent for school construction for Navajos from 1950 to 1960. Four years after the Long-Range Act, the Navajo Tribal Council adopted a resolution authorizing the Commissioner to take whatever steps might be necessary to accomplish the objective of universal education for the Tribe. Glenn Emmons, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, launched NEEP, the Navajo Emergency Education Program, to provide seats for almost 8,000 additional Navajo students. As a result of making maximum use of existing facilities, developing school dormitories in towns peripheral to the reservation, using trailer schools, and re-programing available construction funds to emphasize classroom space at the expense of other possibilities enrollment rapidly increased. Portions of the policy statement issued in May, 1955, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs appear below:

> I. It shall be the policy—
>
> a. To provide educational opportunities for Navajo children on the reservation through age 12 (or through grade 6) in order that small children may be near their parents during the child's formative years.
>
> b. To develop educational opportunities in public schools for Navajo children at the junior and senior high school levels (grades 7–12) in order that Navajo youth may have the opportunity to participate in public school educational programs on an equal basis with non-Indians.
>
> II. Implementation of policy objectives:
>
> *Ages 6–12 will attend schools on the reservation.*
>
> a. In public schools wherever they are available or can be made available.
>
> b. In Federal day schools wherever population will support a day operation . . .
>
> c. Existing boarding facilities will be expanded on the reservation at the nearest locations to the parents to care for the remainder of the 6–12 years who cannot be accommodated in day facilities. * * *
>
> *Ages 13–18 will attend school off the reservation.*
>
> a. Navajo children ages 13–18 who are up to grade will attend schools with non-Indians wherever public school facilities can be made available for them within the States of their residence. The Bureau will provide dormitory and make suitable contract arrangements for instruction in the public schools.

> b. Navajo children in the 13–18 age group who are retarded two or more grades will continue to attend off-reservation Federal schools to receive special vocational instruction as long as the need exists.

The year this statement was issued, 1955, enrollment of Navajos was distributed among types of schools as follows:

Boarding schools	8,269
Reservation day schools, BIA	293
Reservation public schools (approximately)	5,000
Off reservation boarding: Special Navajo program (approximately)	6,000
Off-reservation: Regular program; post high school (approximately)	3,700

In 1961, 6 years after the Bureau's statement of policy, another Navajo education policy statement was enunciated, this one jointly by the BIA and the Navajo Tribal Council. This statement set as its objectives:

> 1. To provide educational opportunities for Navajo children on the reservation from beginners through grade twelve in order that all children may be near their parents. * * *
> 2. To develop, when there is mutual readiness, educational opportunities in public schools for Navajo children at all grade levels in order that Navajo youth may have the opportunity to participate in public school educational programs on an equal basis with other citizens.
> 3. To use present off-reservation education facilities for Navajo youth as long as the need exists.

The parallels between the 1955 and the 1961 statements are obvious. The latter departs from the earlier one, first, in its goal of providing school on the reservation for all grades rather than through only grade six; and, second, in its intent that public schools be made available to Navajo students at all levels, rather than the junior and senior high schools levels only. A second section of the 1961 statement "Implementation of Policy Objectives" again almost directly parallels the Bureau's earlier version except for the absence of limitations on age or grade levels.

The most recent statement made by the BIA in regard to the question of reservation/non-reservation and BIA/public schools was issued in October, 1966. This document states that:

> It is the basic policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to transfer Indian youngsters from Federal to public schools whenever the following conditions pertain:
>
> > a. The youngsters reside in a public school district which is able and willing to provide for their education * * * or
> >
> > b. There is a public school within less than 45 minutes (one way) commuting time from the homes of the Indian students and the district operating the school is willing to accept the Indian youngsters on a tuition basis. * * * *Provided*, That before any such transfers take place, the

> intentions to make them and the plans for their accomplishment, are discussed thoroughly with the parents of the children involved. * * *
>
> c. Public schools located within commuting distance of existing Bureau-operated off-reservation boarding schools are willing to accept Indian students from these installations on a tuition basis. * * *

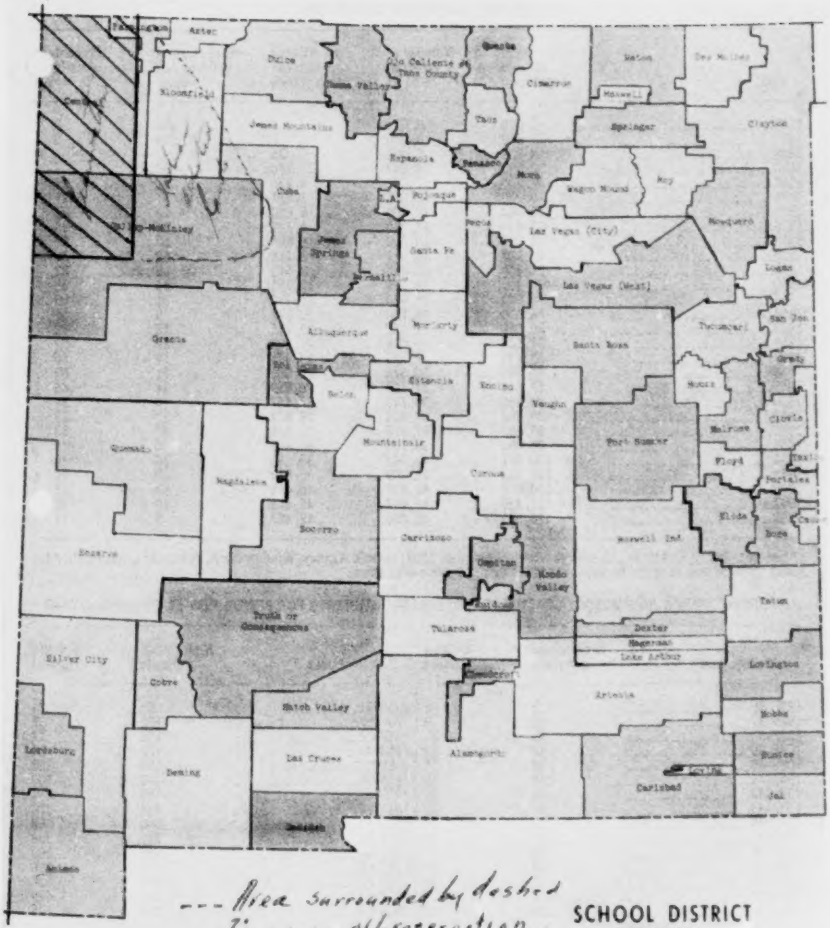
In short, the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of the Navajo Tribe is that public schools assume the resopnsibility for educating Navajo students. And, indeed, as the following table[6a] demonstrates, the public schools have substantially increased their Navajo student body. (Maps on the following pages show the public school districts on the Navajo reservation.)

Public school enrollment

School year:	*6–18 and over*
1951–52	1,846
1952–53	2,393
1953–54	2,847
1954–55	3,900
1955–56	6,581
1956–57	8,317
1957–58	8,531
1958–59	8,181
1959–60	9,791
1960–61	10,250
1961–62	12,879
1962–63	14,067
1963–64	14,183
1964–65	16,452
1965–66	17,367
1966–67	17,072
1967–68	18,201

During the period shown above, however, Navajo education in general has also grown, as the following two tables indicate.

[6a] Bureau of Indian Affairs area office, Window Rock, Ariz.


Farmington
Aztec
Dulce
Chama Valley
Ojo Caliente & Taos County
Questa
Cimarron
Raton
Des Moines
Maxwell
Springer
Clayton
Central
Bloomfield
Jemez Mountains
Taos
Espanola
Penasco
Mora
Wagon Mound
Roy
Cuba
L.A.
Pojoaque
Pecos
Las Vegas (City)
Mosquero
Gallup-McKinley
Jemez Springs
Santa Fe
Logan
Bernalillo
Las Vegas (West)
Grants
Albuquerque
Moriarty
Santa Rosa
Tucumcari
San Jon
Grady
Los Lunas
Estancia
Encino
Belen
Vaughn
House
Clovis
Melrose
Mountainair
Fort Sumner
Quemado
Floyd
Texico
Portales
Magdalena
Corona
Elida
Socorro
Carrizozo
Roswell Ind.
Dora
Reserve
Capitan
Hondo Valley
Ruidoso
Tatum
Truth or Consequences
Tularosa
Dexter
Hagerman
Lake Arthur
Silver City
Cobre
Cloudcroft
Lovington
Artesia
Hatch Valley
Hobbs
Lordsburg
Las Cruces
Alamogordo
Eunice
Deming
Loving
Carlsbad
Jal
Animas

--- Area surrounded by dashed
lines in off-reservation
Checkerboard part of State
Public Domain & Indian Land

SCHOOL DISTRICT
MAP OF
NEW MEXICO

Arizona map deleted because of illegibility.

GROWTH OF NAVAJO EDUCATION

Year	Navajo population	Number of children 6 to 18	Number of children in school	Percentage of children out of school	Percentage of children in school
1868	9,000	3,015	0	100	0
1878	11,850	3,970	0	100	0
1888	18,000	6,030	35	99	.05
1898	20,500	6,867	185	97	3
1908	22,600	7,571	770	90	10
1918	30,000	10,050	1,881	81	19
1928	40,000	13,400	5,000	63	37
1930	42,000	14,070	5,719	64	36
1935	46,000	15,410	6,681	57	43
1940	48,722	16,321	6,164	62	38
1945	61,000	20,435	6,543	68	32
1950	69,000	23,115	12,751	45	55
1953	76,000	25,460	16,110	37	63
1954	78,000	26,130	23,671	9	91
1955	80,000	27,752	22,741	18	82
1956	81,585	29,519	24,163	18	82
1957	83,420	29,585	25,475	14	86
1958	85,506	30,376	26,903	11	89
1959	87,644	31,151	26,859	14	86
1960	89,835	31,743	27,407	14	86
1961	93,357	34,604	28,824	17	83
1962	95,697	37,370	31,025	17	83
1963	98,089	39,763	31,953	20	80
1964	100,541	41,562	35,646	14	86
1965	105,393	45,969	36,839	20	80
1966	109,018	46,602	40,441	13	87
1967	112,725	45,467	40,841	10	90
1968	116,558	46,869	42,457	9	91

Source: Young, Robert W., Navajo yearbook, fiscal year 1957; Navajo Agency, Window Rock, Ariz., 1957. Information fo years 1955–68 was supplied in correspondence by the Navajo area office.

NUMBER OF NAVAJO HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AND COLLEGE STUDENTS FOR PERIOD 1935–57. BY SCHOOL YEAR [1]

School year	High school graduate	College student	School year	High school graduate	College student
1935–36	38	8	1950–51	99	71
1936–37	40	9	1951–52	102	69
1937–38	39	11	1952–53	100	77
1938–39	38	10	1953–54	121	84
1939–40	39	14	1954–55	130	140
1940–41	40	16	1955–56	139	160
1941–42	43	20	1956–57	180	294
1942–43	44	21	1961–62	448	276
1943–44	46	21	1962–63	695	362
1944–45	47	29	1963–64	711	368
1945–46	49	31	1964–65	980	360
1946–47	50	35	1965–66	1,200	596
1947–48	52	36	1966–67	1,400	517
1948–49	55	38	1967–68	1,500	429
1949–50	74	37	1968–69	1,600	495

[1] Numbers representing college students include all Navaio high school graduates attending college. universities. business colleges, nurses training schools or other institutions of advanced learning with the exception of Haskell Institute.

In 1968, the centennial anniversary of the treaty between the Federal government and the Navajo Tribe, observers of Navajo education can point to significant strides: the major portion of the school age population is in school; increasing numbers of youngsters are graduating from high school; increasing numbers of high school graduates are proceeding to college or other types of post-high school training. The history of the last 100 years, then, has been a history of numbers. For the future, however, the attention of responsible officials must turn to focus on the *quality* of the education that the Navajo student is receiving. The succeeding sections of this report will attempt to deal with that subject.

4. THE ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF NAVAJO STUDENTS

Numbers of high school graduates and numbers of dropouts provide two indices by which to judge academic "success" of Navajo students. Previous tables show the growth in numbers of high school graduates to 1968. The table below gives enrollment and drop-out statistics for a public school district, Gallup-McKinley County, New Mexico, a county with 60% Navajo enrollment.

Grade	Number of non-Indian children	Number of Indian children	Average age non-Indian	Average age Indian	Number of non-Indian dropouts	Number of Indian dropouts
Kindergarten	343	494	5.2	5.1	0	1
1	454	996	6.3	6.7	0	1
2	411	592	7.3	7.9	0	1
3	380	555	8.3	9.1	0	0
4	368	586	8.8	10.2	0	0
5	338	575	10.3	11.2	0	1
6	375	474	11.2	12.2	0	2
7	385	428	12.6	13.4	0	23
8	320	377	13.5	14.5	5	21
9	347	412	14.5	15.5	7	32
10	280	280	15.7	16.8	3	30
11	271	257	16.7	17.7	13	32
12	223	221	17.6	19.0	7	15
Special education	31	20	10.2	10.9	0	0
Total	10,793	4,526			35	159

Examination of the table reveals that Indian students are older at every grade level than their non-Indian peers, and that they drop out of school with greater frequency at every grade level than their non-Indian peers. The age differential is explained by the fact that the Indian child's first year in school is devoted to learning English, thus automatically retarding him one year at the beginning of his school career.

Studies of academic achievement have shown that the Navajo child, like children of other Indian tribes, does not achieve as well as his non-Indian classmates. Scores of Navajo Area children on the Stanford Achievement Tests in 1964–65 showed Navajo second graders with a mean reading score of 2.5 as compared to the national norm of 2.8, Navajo eighth graders with a mean reading score of 5.8 as compared to the national norm of 8.8.[7] The eighth graders' scores not only testify to their achievement gap but further document the "crossover effect", a phenomenon of Indian education noted by other studies; that is, Indian students' fall progressively further behind as they continue through school. Psychologist Harry Saslow finds the "crossover effect" at one of the off reservation boarding schools attended largely by Navajos:[8]

> According to data supplied by the principal of the Albuquerque Indian School the average grade placement score of the 12th graders at the school in testing conducted in the spring of 1965 was 9.5, which compares with 9.3 for grade 11, 9.0 for grade 10 and 9.0 for grade 9. These data suggest

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[7] Navajo Area Study of Stanford Achievement Test Scores, 1964–65. Branch of Education. Navajo Area, Window Rock.

[8] Harry L. Saslow and Mary Harrover, "Research on the Psychosocial Adjustment of Indian Youth." The Mental Health of American Indians (reprinted from Volume 125, No. 2. August, 1968).

> essentially no improvement in achievement as measured by standardized tests over the last four years of education. However, the average grade placement of the seventh graders is 6.5 suggesting only a half-year retardation compared to two and a half years of retardation in grade 12.

Navajo students who have managed to be accepted into programs of higher education do not fare more successfully. Saslow continues:

> Zintz reported on the achievement of Indian students enrolled at the University of New Mexico in the years 1954–58. Of 100 students enrolled in 1954 (all classes), 70 percent were dropped with low grades, 20 percent were still enrolled and 10 percent had obtained degrees. Of the 30 percent who remained in school or obtained degrees, the majority were at some time placed on probation for inadequate scholarship. Zintz performed a further analysis of the performance of 31 New Mexico Indian students enrolled in the fall of 1958. He reported that 84 percent of these students failed to get a "C" average in their first semester.

Further evidence of the problems of achievement and retention of Navajo college students appears in the study done by McGrath, Roessel, et al.[9] Of 416 Indian students, 233 of whom were Navajo, enrolled in 27 southwestern colleges and universities during the period from 1958 to 1962, 237 dropouts were identified. Financial reasons were given as the reason for 48 percent of the dropouts, and inadequate preparation for 38 percent. Furthermore, only 26 of the more than 400 Indians in school had achieved a grade point average of 2.75 or higher, while 35 percent had less than a 2.00 ("C"). Thirty-two percent of the Indians in school had been on academic probation; 2 percent of non-Indians had been.

The low achievement of the Navajo student is caused by many factors including the difficulties of learning in a language other than one's native language; learning from materials whose content is culturally foreign; and learning from teachers whose instructional strategies and styles reflect the majority's Anglo value structure. According to Roessel, "Students whose attitudes and beliefs show either a high level of traditionalism or a high level of acculturation achieve at the highest levels in school; those in a culturally intermediate position suffer academically by comparison."[10] This finding is particularly interesting in its suggestion that students with a secure sense of their cultural identity—whichever it happens to be—will be more successful in school than those who have not resolved the cultural and consequent psychological conflict.

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[9] Robert A. Roessel, G. D. McGrath, Bruce Meador, John Barnes, G. C. Holmstadter. "Higher Education of Southwestern Indians with Reference to Success and Failure," Cooperative Research Project, Number 938, (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1962).

[10] Saslow and Harrover. *Op. Cit.*

In addition to the difficulties the Navajo student faces because of the discontinuity between Navajo and school culture, his low achievement may in many instances be physiologically based. Several cases of malnutrition have been reported on the reservation, a condition which may dull a child's learning potential thereafter. Also some of the infectious diseases occurring on the reservation produce forms of brain damage. Jean Van Dusen, a medical doctor with years of service treating Navajo patients, reports that in a little less than one-third of a group of Navajo pre-schoolers ages 3 to 7 indications are that "Early in life malnutrition existed sufficiently to disturb growth and produce stunting of height." "These are the children," she says, "who are apt to enter school with biological disadvantages in regards to ability to learn."

Clearly, the import of Dr. Van Dusen's statement is that the problems of education of the Navajos are not educational problems alone. Poverty, hunger and disease are closely interwoven as causes of educational disadvantage.

5. Navajo Boarding Schools

A. NUMBERS, ISSUES, AND EXPLANATIONS

The issue of boarding schools versus day schools dates back to the beginning of Navajo education and has been a source of changing policy since that time. Although few today contest that boarding schools will be a reality of Navajo education for the near future, many would question whether the evils inherent in the nature of such institutions out-weigh whatever good they may do in educating their students. The 1961 Tribal Council–BIA joint policy statement says, in fact: "The value attached to home living with school attendance on a day basis remains a primary objective of tribal and Bureau educational policy."

The off-reservation boarding schools date back to the period between 1880 and 1902 and the premise that successful "civilization" of Indian children and youth depended upon divorcing them from parental influences and from the reservation environment. These facilities and others, many still in use, were built throughout the western United States, as follows:

1880: Chemawa Indian School.
1884: Chilocco Indian School.
1886: Albuquerque Indian School.
1884: Haskell Institute.
1890: Stewart Indian School.
1891: Phoenix Indian School.
1902: Sherman Institute.

Off-reservation-boarding school enrollment for Navajos as of December 31, 1967 was listed by the BIA as:

Chemawa	120
Chilocco	299
Albuquerque	[1] 682
Stewart	30
Phoenix	333
Sherman	350
Riverside	105
Fort Sill	68
Subtotal	1, 987
Intermountain (all Navajo)	2, 162
Total	4, 149

[1] 270 being bordertown students.

The majority of boarding school students, or 14,807 of the total of 18,956 at the same point in time, were attending boarding schools on the reservation.

The greatest criticism of boarding schools by far has been leveled at the elementary boarding schools and the practice of separating young children from their homes and families. In 1928, the Meriam Report expressed disapproval in a statement as relevant now as then:

> It does not follow that non-reservation boarding schools should be immediately abandoned, but the burden of proof rests heavily upon proposals to establish new ones, or to add to the numbers of pupils in existing schools. As quickly as possible the non-reservation boarding schools should be reserved for pupils above sixth grade, and probably soon thereafter for pupils of ninth grade and above. This would leave local schools—public schools wherever possible, government day schools or even small boarding schools where no other arrangement can be made—to take care of all elementary schooling. Indian parents nearly everywhere ask to have their children during the early years, and they are right. The regrettable situations are not those of Indians who want their children at home, but of those who do not, and there is apparently a growing class of Indian parents who have become so used to being fed and clothed by the government that they are glad to get rid of the expense and care of their children by turning them over to the boarding school.

Data gathered in 1967 from the Bureau of Indian Affairs by the Association of American Indian Affairs in New York indicates that—

—9,728 Indian youngsters age nine and younger are enrolled in BIA boarding schools and dormitories;
—Of this number, 9,074 are boarding students;
—8,021 Navajo youngsters age nine and younger are enrolled in boarding schools;
—Of this number 7,476 are boarding students;
—The total estimated number of Navajo children nine and younger is 9,000;
—83% of Navajos nine and younger are at boarding schools.

In addition to reasons of history, the presence of boarding schools on the Navajo reservation is usually attributed to lack of roads. It is surprising, therefore, to learn that two-thirds of the nine-year-olds and younger children live 25 miles or less away from the school they attend, and the percentage increases when one includes boarding school students of all ages. The following table, prepared from information requested by the Subcommittee of the BIA specifies the distance from school of the homes of the younger children as compiled from school records as of December, 1967.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN BOARDING SCHOOLS, AGE 9 AND UNDER, BY DISTANCE OF HOME FROM SCHOOL

Miles	Number	Percent
0 to 10	2,839	36.0
11 to 24	2,226	28.3
25 to 49	2,010	25.8
50 to 74	582	7.4
75 to 100	161	2.0
100 plus	34	.05

Admittedly, the reservation's lack of roads and sparsity of population settlements have both contributed to the dominance of boarding schools in the BIA's Navajo educational program. Many of the students in boarding schools would not otherwise be in school at all. Nonavailability of alternate schooling, however, is only one reason among seven according to which Navajo students attend these institutions. Eligibility for admission, as set forth in a November 1964 release is as follows:

> Children otherwise eligible who meet one or more of the criteria listed below may be admitted to Federal boarding schools:
>
> *A. Education Criteria*
>
> (1) Those for whom a public or Federal day school is not available. Walking distance to school or bus transportation is defined as one mile for elementary children and 1½ miles for high school.
>
> (2) Those who need special vocational or preparatory courses, not available to them locally, to fit them for gainful employment. Eligibility under this criterion is limited to student of high school grades 9 through 12.
>
> (3) Those retarded scholastically three or more years or those having pronounced bilingual difficulties, for whom no provision is made in available schools.
>
> *B. Social Criteria*
>
> (1) Those who are rejected or neglected for whom no suitable plan can be made.
>
> (2) Those who belong to large families with no suitable home and whose separation from each other is undesirable.
>
> (3) Those whose behavior problems are too difficult for solution by their families or through existing community facilities and who can benefit from the controlled environment of a boarding school without harming other children.

(4) Those whose health or proper care is jeopardized by illness of other members of the household.

By these criteria the nine-year old and younger group in boarding schools distribute themselves as follows:

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN BOARDING SCHOOLS, AGE 9 AND UNDER, BY CRITERIA OF REFERRAL

	Number	Percent
Criteria A-1	7,462	94.7
Criteria B-1	118	1.5
Criteria B-2	173	2.2
Criteria B-3	6	.08
Criteria B-4	118	1.5

In contrast to these figures, the so-called Social Reasons account for a far greater percentage of the enrollments in the off-reservaton boarding schools.

At hearings in Flagstaff, Arizona, on March 3, 1968, Allen Yazzie then Chairman of the Navajo Education Committee, testified on the subject of boarding schools, as follows:

> The concern of this Senate Subcommitte, that it is necessary for students young and old to attend boarding schools, is shared. In fact, this has been a concern of long standing on the Navajo reservation and with the Education Committee. This concern has led to an attempt to utilize all possible opportunities for students to attend school on a day basis. Some progress has been made on this. In 1952, only 2,579 Navajo students attended public and Federal day schools. In 1967 most of the over 17,000 Navajo students in public schools attended on a day basis and about 1,000 students attended Federal schools on a day basis. This shows that some progress has been made.

Yazzie also testified that "students now in boarding schools are generally from the most isolated and most sparsely populated areas of the reservation," and that "recent surveys have shown that it would take one mile of road to pick up 4 or 5 students."

In a letter to the Subcommittee from the Navajo Social Action Group, Fort Defiance, Arizona, the need for boarding schools is particularly well-expressed though coupled with an awareness of their shortcomings.

> Most Navajo children attend boarding schools located considerable distances from their homes. Boarding schools are perhaps the most undesirable way to educate normal Indian children, but boarding schools are presently the only community educational resource on the Navajo reservation. Boarding schools are necessary at the present time because: there are few all-weather roads to transport children to public schools; families live in rural areas far from population centers; there are few urban communities where housing and other services are available for those who wish to live close to public schools; there are few family social services and income maintenance

> programs for needy families who must care for small children; there is a lack of employment opportunities and there is a lack of special community services for children with special problems due to parental neglect, delinquency and mental retardations. Because these community services normally available to other people are inaccessible to the Navajo people, boarding schools are necessary for the education of our children. We are continually aware of the many negative experiences that affect young people in boarding schools. We trust that the Committee will deal with these problems further in its hearings.

Building additional roads on the reservation and/or using different types of vehicles to better accommodate the reservation terrain would clearly have an impact on the type of education that could be provided to Navajo children. Currently, children who live on public school bus routes, do for the most part, attend public schools. Yet one incident was reported to the Subcommittee of parents of some 160 students not being informed that the school bus would take their children; they sent them to boarding school.

Road construction on the Navajo reservation is the responsibility of the BIA Branch of Roads, Engineering Division. The Branch of Roads has a 10-year program for road construction and as funds become available the planned roads are constructed. According to an unpublished report of the House Appropriations Committee investigating staff, the "BIA has never requested or required a study on the Navajo Indian Reservation which would show the effect of road construction on proposed school construction and operations. There are no present plans to revise the 10-year road construction plan to take into consideration BIA school construction or operations. BIA procedures require that separate proposals be submitted for road construction and for school construction." Clearly, coordination of road and school construction activities must be improved. As acknowledged by BIA Navajo area officials to the investigating staff, more and better roads would eliminate the need for many of the boarding facilities.

When asked by the Subcommittee whether the BIA has "systematically analyzed alternatives to elementary boarding schools," Graham Holmes, the Area Director of the Navajo Area replied: [11]

> Periodically an analysis is made. The question of day schools versus boardings schools comes up just about every year. Last spring (1968) a comprehensive study was made of the possibility of building roads from boarding schools so that pupils could attend on a day basis. Maps showing location of pupil's homes, schools and bus routes were drawn. It was found that a total of 1,689 miles of road could be built at the cost of $84,450,000. However, there is no assurance the Indian families would continue to live along these routes for any length of time.

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[11] This and subsequent Area Director remarks: Graham Holmes. Letter and materials, December 10, 1968, to William Anderson, Consultant, Subcommittee on Indian Education, United States Senate, 1968.

Last summer 2,300 Navajo children participated in Headstart programs in 115 units of 20 children each. Small buses were leased by the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity (ONEO) to provide the necessary transportation. The average bus route for the pre-school class was 90 miles over back roads and took 2½ to three hours. It would seem that the buses used by ONEO could be used advantageously during the school year to enable more Navajos to attend school on a day basis. The Navajo Area Office of the Bureau informed the Subcommittee that it had thought of adopting the OEO busing system, "But our critical financial situation has vetoed the plan for this year. ONEO informs us they spend $30,000 per unit while Bureau units are allocated the sum of $25,000 each. We are having to make use of existing busing arrangements wherever possible to have our funds meet minimum cost."

Regarding access to public school bus routes and the length of rides that the Bureau considered acceptable, the Area Director writes:

> Pupils who live within one and one-half miles of bus lines are not eligible for a boarding school. Exceptions to this general rule do occur when enrolling officials receive the wrong kind of information or an over-zealous principal disregards criteria for enrollment in an attempt to meet a quota for his school.
>
> There has been some disagreement between the two over length of bus routes. Bureau personnel feel that no child should ride the bus for a length of time over one hour, one way. Some districts in an attempt to get as many Indian children as possible enrolled and the resultant Johnson O'Malley funds run their buses as far as they can out on reservation roads. The situation results in children daily facing safety hazards resulting from bad roads, severely cold weather, being stranded, and other courses.

A tragic incident in March 1968 illustrates the hazard to which he refers. Getting off a school bus that had stopped three miles from her home, an eight year old girl froze to death, walking; her sister, accompanying her, suffered frostbite, but survived. Commenting on the death, Allen Yazzie, Tribal Education Committee chairman, remonstrated.

> We have supported where reasonable the attendance of Navajo young people at various public schools and this program in large measure significantly helped in the over-all program. However, the education commission and the tribe believe that the public schools and the school boards are over-reaching in their quest for pupils when the school bus routes up to 50 and even more miles that must be used to bring the pupils to the existing public school facilities, especially where treacherous roads and weather conditions and involved.

On the other hand, the Ramah court case raised the issue of whether one public school district, Gallup-McKinley county, had extended its bus routes *far enough* into the Ramah Navajo area to reach all of its potential students.

Although examples can be cited of cooperation between the public schools and the BIA schools, Mr. Holme's and Mr. Yazzie's remarks and the school bus issue point to the conflict and competition that have arisen from the split of the Navajo school population between administrative authorities. Although the Bureau's 1961 and 1966 policy statements enunciate a policy of transfer of responsibility to public schools, the completion of this transfer does not appear imminent. To the contrary, some public school officials have suggested that BIA personnel actively recruit Navajo students to the BIA schools, and point, too, to the fact that the Bureau has built new school buildings in the last few years—hardly a sign of "going out of business."

B. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF BOARDING SCHOOLS

Tied as it is to the public/BIA dichotomy and to the question of roads and the reservation's economic development, the issue of the boarding school is complex. Yet, people who have taught in boarding schools, experienced psychologists and psychiatrists who have had their students as patients, and outside educators who have evaluated their success as educational institutions, are convincing in their condemnation. One study was reported at Subcommittee hearings in which it was found that "The anxiety level, the hostility level and in the area of aggression, boarding school students scored higher than did day school students. Furthermore, we found that adults attending these boarding schools as children had a greater number of personality and behavior problems than did those attending day schools or no school." Although available data such as this is insufficient, first-hand accounts offer additional compelling arguments to the psychological damage boarding schools may inflict.

Dr. Robert Leon, Chief of Psychiatry at the Outpatients Clinic, University of Texas, defined the problem in 1960.

> The problem of mental health and mental illness in children in Indian boarding schools, is primarily the problem of mental health and illness in children who are living in a strange culture away from their families. * * * Indian children have basic needs which are no different from basic needs of children all over the world. These basic needs can be described in many ways, but essentially they are the need to be loved, the need to be accepted by the group, and the need to achieve.

He continued:

> At first these needs are almost entirely met by the family. As the child grows older he turns more and more to social institutions, but the family group is always of major importance. When the Indian child is sent to a boarding school, he is removed both from the supporting family group and from many of the supporting institutions in his society.

Speculating on the effects of boarding schools on young Indian children to a group of nurses, Dr. Leon expressed the problem slightly differently.

> An infant who is deprived of maternal care over a significant period of time is always retarded both physically, intellectually, and socially; and furthermore, this retardation is irreversible and persists throughout life. All children under the age of seven years seem to be vulnerable to maternal separation, although after the age of five this vulnerability diminishes markedly. * * * There is no doubt that all elementary school age children are tremendously unhappy when separated from their parents and show many emotional symptoms which may or may not be irreversible.

Some nine years after Dr. Leon's statement, in May, 1967, the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health went on record as wanting additional information:

> The Committee feels that more information is needed with respect to the psychological problems associated with placing children in boarding schools and recommends that the Division of Indian Health in cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs enlist the aid of a group of consultants to thoroughly study the psychological problems in boarding schools.

It is generally agreed that one of the most severe problems with the boarding schools is the inadequate numbers of dormitory personnel. The Navajo Area Office reports that the average ratio for all dormitories on the reservation of dormitory aides (sometimes called instructional aides) to pupils is 1 to 72. The typical ratio for night attendants in the dormitories is 1 to 180–260. Both of these increase substantially if someone falls ill or misses work. Other average ratios for professional personnel to students are:

Psychologist (one only at one high school): 1/1,059.
Guidance supervisor: 1/1,225.
Counselor: 1/690.

In 1967 the Indian Health Committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics recommended that the ratio of dormitory aides to students should be 1 to 15.

Dr. Robert Bergman, Director of the Mental Health Program for the Navajo Area Indian Health Service, Gallup, New Mexico, comments on this problem in his paper, "A second report on the Problems of Boarding Schools, May, 1967:

> The shortage of dormitory personnel would be bad enough if the instructional aides could devote their full time to the care of children, but as things are they must devote much of their time to housekeeping. It seems to me that no matter what other improvements are made in the boarding school program, the children will be receiving inadequate care as long as the

> only parents or parent substitutes they know for most of the year are over-worked instructional aides whom they share with 60 other children.

In further discussion of the dormitory aides who, he points out, are the lowest members of the boarding school hierarchy, but psychologically, the most important, Dr. Bergman provides additional analysis:

> The lack of concern for the basic needs of the children as best expressed by the small number of dormitory staff is evident in many other aspects of dormitory life. In the main, there is little or no encouragement of the children to confide in the school personnel. The instructional aides of a number of schools are told that they are not qualified to do counseling and that all such problems should be referred to their superiors. This puts them in a difficult position. If they should find the time to talk with an individual child and the child comes to them in tears for comfort, they are sure that they should not attempt to comfort him in the language of his parents. Many of the aides doubtless are aware of the faults of this system, but as the lowest ranking, most easily replaced members of the school staff they are not in a very good position to do anything about it. There are, of course, many exceptions and some schools encourage instructional aides to try to be substitute parents. On the other hand, staff and students sometimes get each other into trouble if they try to develop a personal relationship.

Commenting on young adults who are the product of boarding school education, Dr. Bergman speculates on the effects of being raised in an institutional and impersonal environment:

> Among the young adults who are the first generation of Navajo in which the majority went to school, there are many severe problems. The problems that occur with excessive frequency are ones involving the breakdown of social control: drunkenness, child neglect, and drunken and reckless driving. Alarming numbers of people have lapsed into an alienated, apathetic life marked by episodes of delinquency and irresponsibility. * * * I have encountered many mothers who take the attitude that they should not have to be burdened with their children and that the hospital or some other institution should care for them. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that their having been placed by their own parents in an impersonal institution contributes to such attitudes, and it is noticeable that the boarding schools provide children and adolescents with little or no opportunity to take care of other children or even of themselves.

A letter forwarded to the Subcommittee from a newly-employed boarding school counselor provides further insights into the life of a boarding school youngster vis a vis adult guidance and companionship. The counselor additionally provides information on his role and on the boarding school environment:

> 1. I have worked from 10–16 hours a day every work day since I have been here. Although I should have had eight days off during that time, there were only three days that I was actually free. On the other days off, it was absolutely essential to work part-time because of personnel shortages. The worktime which I refer to does not include one minute of counseling or of planning. Rather, it consists of retrieving AWOLS—a disgusting Army concept—(about 30–40% of the time), supervising housekeeping and other work details (about 30% time) banking (5–10% time), meetings (5–10% time), and general service boy—do whatever is asked of you around campus—(10 to 20% of time). To work willingly and creatively beyond the call of duty is professionalism, but to be compelled to do routinized chores that in no way relates to one's professional standing is a despicable form of exploitation.
>
> 2. By being cast into the roles of "AWOL" retriever, housecleaning supervisor, and chief disciplinarian, I have relinquished the possibility of establishing the type of rapport which is necessary in a positive counseling situation. In fact, I help to re-inforce the Indian skepticism of the white man whom the Indian might rightly regard as lacking in understanding and concern for others.
>
> 3. I am no maverick who stands alone in dissent. During my short stay here up until now of only five weeks, I have heard an incredibly large number of people reverberate the same grievances.

Despite these criticisms, the counselor is also hopeful:

> I would also like to draw BIA attention to the fact that, from my very short experience, it appears that dormitory life for Indian youngsters may be on the threshold of serving as a highly worthwhile experience for them. The only obstacle blocking the breakthrough is the inadequate number of personnel. Though the aides, Indian dormitory staff, are often irritable and fatigued, many of them are probably respected as much as any other adults in the lives of the students. Furthermore, many of the aides are highly regarded by the youngsters. But, again, the aides have such a multitude of tasks to perform and are spread so thin that few have an opportunity to utilize their special skills. I maintain that with but a few additions in personnel, a truly remarkable transition would occur.

The serious lack of personnel and the consequent inadequacy of the boarding schools' guidance function is also commented upon by a teacher in the Tuba City elementary boarding school, the largest on the Navajo reservation with some 2,000 students. (When the BIA's Assistant Commissioner for Education visited this facility, he ordered that it be condemned. It is still being used.) The school's "guidance" department, is described by the teacher below:

> Herein lies the most serious deficiency of the entire boarding school system, for these people are in charge of the children sixteen hours a day, seven days a week, yet they are understaffed, underprogrammed, under-supervised, and overextended. For example, each dormitory has only one teacher, and it is extremely difficult to find suitable personnel for these crucial demanding positions. Yet, even the finest teachers could accomplish little, when they are working with 150 children of a different culture, and are responsible for their care and welfare seven days a week. * * * We don't have an effective guidance program, only a "maintenance" program, due to the shortages of guidance personnel, funding and planning. This accounts for the high degree of regimented confusion that abounds after the school day ends. Vast blocks of time are filled with boredom or meaningless activity. There are no learning activities, and few recreational or craft areas being worked in.
>
> The children search everywhere for something—they grasp most hungrily at any attention shown them or at any straw that might offer escape from boredom. You can't help but see it in their faces when you visit the dorms of the younger children. At the older boys' dormitories, they are used to the conditions—you can see that too. They no longer expect anything meaningful from anyone. Many have lost the ability to accept anything past the material level, even when it is offered. Unless you have lived with them over a period of time, and see the loneliness and the monotony of the daily routine, you cannot appreciate the tragedy of it, but it's there.

This teacher's letter also criticizes another aspect of boarding school practice that has been commented upon by others: the rarity of opportunity for parent-child contact. In his words again:

> Most children on the reservation starting at age six, only see their parents on occasional weekends, if that often. At these times, parents are usually "allowed to check out their children"—if the child's conduct in school warrants it in the opinion of the school administration. If he has been a "problem" (e.g. has run away) parents are often not allowed to take him until he has "learned his lesson." This may take up to a month to accomplish. This may tend to cut down on runaways, but it would seem that we should work toward eliminating the cause, rather than punishing the results.
>
> However, these are often the lucky children. I have no evidence of this, except the word of teachers who are directly involved, but I have been told of schools * * * at which parents are not allowed to check their children out on weekends, in order to eliminate runaways (except for emergencies).

The fact of runaways, or in the more usual terminology, AWOL's, is in itself further condemnation of the elementary boarding school system. Although the number of children who seek thus to escape the schools has diminished markedly from the times, not long ago, when parents were officially forbidden from taking their children on weekends, it is still large enough to require "AWOL retrievers." According to Area office records for the 1967–1968 school year, nine percent of the year's dropouts were in the AWOL category.

Admittedly, insufficient objective data is available to document the effects of the boarding school experience on young children or, for that matter, on older boys and girls. No one has made a study to determine either the number of emotionally disturbed children or the severity of their problem, and such a survey is clearly necessary. No one has compiled statistics on the number of suicides and suicide attempts, although reports of such happenings, especially in some of the boarding schools are far from infrequent. Observers, teachers, counselors, doctors and other informed personnel have, to date, contributed the most insightful information about the psychological effects of the boarding schools.

The portrait that evolves is one of depersonalized, impersonalized institutions. Privacy is limited, the buildings large and stark, and, in some instances, sixteen to twenty share a room. It is not unheard of for two children to share the same bed. The individual, as in any institutional setting, is attended to not for his individuality but for his similarity. He is treated not as a unique human being, nor, given the present staffing inadequacies, can he be. He is, instead, one of many. He is interchangeable.

It is a tendency of all of society's institutions to process the people they deal with and have been designed to help. The person who enters is not the same person who emerges after something has been done to him by someone. Schools, hospitals, prisons, and agencies of government, have all clientele who come, go through, and go year after year, and it is not surprising that the employees of such institutions tend to become "processors." At best, they can try to see each client as an individual personality who is, for a time, also a student or a patient; at worse, the client's existence is fully defined by his role—student, patient—and without further discriminating identity, he is so processed. In the latter situation, both the processor and the processee are somewhat dehumanized.

Adults, and children too, cling to their uniqueness and resent being confused with others or being reduced to a series of punches on a computer card. A sense of identity is critical to psychological wellbeing.

The elementary school child who finds himself in a boarding school has not yet fully developed his identity, his "I". Psychologically, he will not be grown for many years. But, away from family and familiar surroundings, placed in an institutional setting, and processed from morning until bedtime day after day and month after month, it hardly seems likely that the child will emerge years later as a psychologically healthy unscathed adult.

It is not suprising that parents may not only feel ambivalent about enrolling their child in a boarding school, but may, as they did in the late 1800's and early 1900's, take positive action to prevent it. *How I Entered School*, a composition published in the September, 1967, issue of the literary magazine of the all-Navajo Intermountain Boarding School in Brigham City, Utah, tells of one child's experience.

> When I was a little boy, I wanted to start school.
>
> My brother was attending a small boarding school about ten miles south of where we lived. I thought that if I went to school, I could play with boys my own age. But my mother didn't want me to enter school until I was eight. So, whenever we saw a government car, my mother would lock me in the house.
>
> One day two men from the school came around to enroll students. Again I was locked up in the house. I could hear them talk about my brother. Then I decided to go and register. I tried to go through the door, but it was locked. Later I found the window open. I crawled through the window.
>
> I stepped out into the open, pretending I didn't see them. My mother couldn't do anything about it. I was called over, and a man asked mother how old I was. She answered, "Six—going on seven." I found out that I was old enough to attend school. The paper was signed by my mother.
>
> When fall came, I was sent to school. I was anxious to get there. Then I started my schooling. It was all right for the first two years. The third year I hated it so much I didn't even want to go back. I did anyway.[12]

C. OFF-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS

As with boarding schools in general and the elementary boarding schools in particular, research information is critical to a thorough understanding of the problems of the off-reservation boarding schools, many of which largely enroll students who are average and underachieving, thus presenting a special educational demand. The findings of one such study, Psycho-Social Adjustment in an Indian Boarding School, are due for publication early in 1969. The study began in 1964 with Harry L. Saslow, a child-clinical psychologist, May J. Harrover, a psychiatric social worker, and Joel E. Greene, an experimental psychologist, as principal investigators. Funded by the National Institute of Mental Health, the study scrutinized students in the Albuquerque Indian School about one-fifth of whom, approximately 200 at the time, were there under social criteria referral. In December, 1967, Dr. Saslow described the student body to the Subcommittee this way:

> We see a majority of the students at the Albuquerque Indian School manifesting problems ranging from mild to acute and of different kinds. The management of these students and programs for them make no distinctions betwen them. Not only are no distinctions made between them, but not more than token programs are available on campus for other than routine educational needs. We do not see even tokenism in the social—emotional realm. We have a situation in which

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[12] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, U.S. Public Health Service, "Minutes of the American Academy of Pediatrics Committee on Indian Health Meeting: May, 1967."

> some children are referred to the school for emotional and social considerations so severe they cannot stay at home but no treatment is available when they arrive; they, furthermore, are treated in the same way as the other children, and, finally like all the other students, they are forced to live in circumstances so restrictive and repressive that not even normal emotional expression is possible.[13]

A progress report written by Dr. Saslow and his colleagues in 1964 describes the academic responsibilities of the Albuquerque school (an ungraded elementary; a regular junior, and senior high program; and the bordertown dormitory program for students attending public schools), the staffing pattern, the dormitories, and dormitory life. There is one instructional aide per 50 students: three Navajo; the majority Pueblo. Considering the fact that the student population is 80 percent Navajo and that the Navajos and Pueblos are historically antagonists, the dormitory staffing would appear at least to be open to question.

Five dormitories house the Albuquerque students, two of them constructed in the late 1800's. In the girls' dormitory, "the majority of girls occupy metal bunks which are arranged in two double-deck units. Each group of four is divided from its neighboring cubicle by metal wardrobes." The boys' dormitory employs all available space for the boys' living quarters. "All students, both those in the boarding school and Bordertown programs, are required to make their own beds, clean their living area, and in addition, have work assignments of a janitorial nature in the dormitories and academic buildings.

Moving from the description, the progress report notes problems, one of which is the indirect fault of bureaucratic communications. They say:

> Even within the Bureau communication is made cumbersome by the formal organizational structure and the physical distances involved. For example, a communication from the Albuquerque School to a student's former school on the Navajo reservation is channelled first of all through the Principal of Albuquerque Indian School, from him to the Director of Schools in the United Pueblo Agency across the street; from his office to that of the UPA Agency Superintendent and from there to the office of the superintendent of the Area Office in Gallup. From this point the communication is routed through the Assistant Area Director of Schools to the particular school on the reservation. In emergency situations, however, a telephone call can be made by the Principal of AIS to the reservation school or subagency.

A second problem noted by the research team at this stage of their investigations is a perceived change by school personnel in the students attending the school:

> There is staff anxiety about increasing aggressiveness of the students. Every staff person, from the Director of the

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[13] New Mexico Highlands University. "Psychological Adjustment in an Indian Boarding School." Progress Report November 20, 1964. NIMH, 00843–02: September 1, 1963–August 31, 1964.

> Branch of Education in Washington, to the Principal of the school and teachers report that today's students are different from those who came to school ten years ago. The essential difference appears to be an increased aggressiveness so that the students talk more freely with the staff, associate with the public school students more comfortably, and speak up in class. Generally they are less docile. The school tends to react with increased repressiveness and inflexibility. At the same time the students themselves are being encouraged by their tribal leaders, and by some of the parents, to be more and more aggressive. The student, therefore, is caught in a conflict. If he submits to increasingly repressive discipline and rules, he is devalued, and if he resists authority, he is in trouble at the school.

Hopefully, the Final Report of the Albuquerque study will yield additional understanding of these new Indian students and of the response of an institution to changing behaviors within its ranks. Its publication will mark a significant addition to a scanty literature.

Investigations of the educational effectiveness of off-reservation boarding schools are also scarce. Recognizing this, the Subcommittee requested several leading educators to visit a boarding school or schools and to provide an evaluative report. In the course of the evaluation, consultants were to interview key personnel, visit with students, review student records and other written materials, and collect whatever other information they deemed necessary for a valid evaluation. Some of the perceptions and conclusions of the Albuquerque team are quoted below, to provide additional insight to that particular school.

> (Selected Remarks of the *Report to the Senate Subcommittee on the Albuquerque Indian School*, prepared by the Southwestern Co-operative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, New Mexico)
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> —A number of teachers indicated that students were unable to use the textbooks that were available for classes. Both the oral language difficulties and reading difficulties often prohibit students from gaining maximum utilization from the textbooks.
>
> —Apparently, the problems in the school are not those of materials and audio-visual equipment; a definite problem *is* one of keeping a very old building in operating condition. For example, one building has a hole large enough that pigeons fly into the classrooms and water drips from the ceiling when an upstairs drain is used. Other buildings on the campus have already been condemned and if it were not for portable classrooms that have been installed, the reduced population that is now being served could not meet on the campus. Student council members openly complained about the conditions of the dormitories.
>
> —Truancy is apparently a rather difficult problem. . . There was some indication that some youngsters make a

habit of running away from the school, and therefore, it becomes necessary to have these students removed for their own safety as well as indicating to other students that such behavior will not be tolerated.

—in a discussion with two high school seniors, both indicated they were unaware of information leading to college admission requirements—that no one in the school had informed them of these requirements—and that they had heard from other students in college that the most difficult problems were related to keeping up with all the reading. Apparently no students were involved in a speed-reading program. Some students were participating in a class for slow readers and a reading specialist is now on the staff.

—The turnover rate is low; with the exception of two new people who had been hired to the staff this year, and a home economics teacher who had been there only six years, all other teachers with whom we talked had been there for a period of time extending from fourteen years to thirty-one years of service. * * * One could ask the question whether the kind of "spark" necessary to keep current with new changes in curricular offerings and methodology is a part of the make-up of teachers who have for a long period of time been promoted yearly in the same system. One teacher, for example, indicated that no one really worried about being downgraded on a performance evaluation; the Civil Service protects them.

—The students believe they can survive the academic program but are highly critical of their dormitory experience. Some of the complaints were: being "marched" across campus at night; people entering rooms without knocking; punishing a group for the behavior of one individual; not being allowed to attend the church of one's choice.

—Students are programmed for most of the hours during the day and evening. Only about an hour or an hour and a half (according to students) was considered "free time."

—Many of the teachers at the school indicated "we receive the students when nobody else can handle them." Although this may be true from many different perspectives, this type of attitude, in the opinion of the visiting team, has a tendency to help establish self-fulfilling hypotheses.

—Notices are mailed to the parents indicating the procedures for getting students released to come home during vacations. Some parents may not be able to read the letters written in English, and unless they can find someone to interpret the letter, they are unaware of the vacation procedures. * * * The parents do not receive

> any publications about the Albuquerque Indian School, or in the case of Bordertown students, about the school in which the children are placed. They receive no information about the dormitories or other living conditions.

Additional information about the Albuquerque school was shared with the Subcommittee verbally after the receipt of the written report. These communications revealed that:

> —Age-grade data show approximately 30 to 40% of the student body to be behind grade for their age;
> —The student turnover rate is roughly 30% per year, with many of the students who leave, the evaluation team reports, being "pushed out" by the school; and
> —the more aggressive students are the most likely candidates for "push out."

Several of the observations made of the Albuquerque School are, as one would expect, equally true of other BIA off-reservation boarding schools as well. Charged with housing and schooling Indian young people, they do neither particularly well. Faced with a sizeable group who need special help for social, emotional or educational problems, they respond incompletely.

A psychiatrist who since 1960 has been a consultant to the Public Health Service and has worked with Indian patients with emotional difficulties at the off-reservation Phoenix Indian School, Dr. James M. Kilgore, Jr., provided a report to the Subcommittee of his experiences. The Phoenix Indian School enrolls 972 students, of whom 213 are Navajo. Of the total student body, 522 are enrolled under the so-called Social Reasons; 450 under "No School Available." Dr. Kilgore writes: [14]

> The school, up until this time, has primarily defined itself as a teaching institution and has tended not to want to see, or recognize, or deal with the emotional problems the students present. Over a period of several years we have made progress in helping them to be more aware of this responsibility as "substitute parents." However, bringing this need to the staff's attention has only served to increase their frustration. The students who are referred are by-and-large behavior problems which manifest themselves in such a way as to be disturbing to the staff, either because of a type of behavior manifested, or because the staff feels that if they allow the student to "get away with such behavior" they themselves will be subject to criticism or reprimand. Thus, the majority of the students seen fit within the diagnostic category of a maladjustment reaction of adolescence manifested by a behavior disorder. In this are included such problems as drinking, glue-sniffing, or paint-sniffing. Likewise, there are a few students who fit within the diagnostic category of a character disorder. Dur-

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[14] The full text of Dr. Kilgore's letter and of another letter about the Phoenix Indian School from a Dr. Anthony E. Elite, P.H.S., Mental Health Program Officer, are included as appendices to this report.

> ing each school year there is approximately one case of childhood schizophrenia diagnosed. There are a number of students who manifest symptoms of depression during the school year and these symptoms are usually directly related to problems which arise at home on the reservation, or rejection from their parents, or difficulty in interpersonal relationships with peers. * * * I do not have the most recent statistics but several years in a row approximately 10% of the students have been sent home during the school year for varying degrees of disciplinary problems.

Dr. Kilgore continues:

> In my re-thinking the problems of a boarding school off the reservation, I have arrived at several conclusions. There are tremendous problems involved in managing a boarding school off the reservation in terms of teaching and taking care of the students as well as meeting their emotional needs and giving them guidance in developing into young adults. Most of the students come to the boarding school because they are having problems on the reservation with the schools that are locally available to them or with their parents and many have rather severe psychological problems imbedded within their early personality development. * * * It is my opinion that the boarding school, if it is to continue and be allowed to exist, should be made into a 'residential treatment center school' with emphasis not only on giving adequate education, but also providing adequate foster parents and appropriate plans for mental health development and treatment of mental disorders.

A strikingly similar recommendation for transforming the off-reservation boarding school was made to the Subcommittee by Dr. Robert L. Leon in his testimony on October 1, 1968. Dr. Leon phrased his recommendation this way:

> I propose to you that funds be made available from the Congress to convert many of the Indian boarding schools into residential treatment centers for emotionally disturbed children. The schools which are converted into residential treatment centers should be administered by mental health personnel. The program should be planned and developed jointly by mental health and educational personnel. All educational and dormitory personnel should have training in the care and treatment of emotionally disturbed and socially deprived children.

In making this recommendation, Dr. Leon contends that the present inadequacy of the boarding schools to treat the emotional problems of the student nullifies the educational effort; that, bluntly, the boarding school experience "does more harm than good. They do not educate; they alienate."

Dr. Kilgore and Dr. Leon are not unprecedented in their suggestion. The Meriam Report, some forty years back, suggested that some of the off-reservation boarding schools "might well become special schools for distinctive groups of children":

> For the mentally defective that are beyond the point of ordinary home and school care; for * * * extreme "behavior problem" cases, thereby relieving the general boarding schools from a certain number of their pupils whose record is that of delinquents, who complicate unnecessarily the discipline problem, and for whom special treatment is clearly indicated.

Since so many of the students in the off-reservation boarding schools do comprise a group with special psychological problems, these recommendations make eminent good sense. It is unfair not only to these students, but to their more fortunate classmates, to treat them in an undifferentiated curriculum. It is ludicrous to send these young people to the off-reservation boarding schools because of "social" reasons and then to fail to provide assistance for their problems.

D. THE BORDERTOWN DORMITORY PROGRAM

The initiation of the Bordertown Dormitory program in the 1950's was an attempt to provide an alternative to elementary and secondary boarding school education. The Bureau's policy statement of 1955 provided for teenage Navajo students who were up to grade to receive a public school education, for which the Bureau would reimburse the local school district, while living in boarding facilities which the Bureau would provide on the periphery of the reservation. While the creation of the program implicitly acknowledged problems with boarding school education, it changed the "school" in the boarding school experience but did not change the "boarding."

The Bureau is obliged by the original agreement with the bordertown school districts to continue the program at the existing level for twenty years from the time of the agreement, 1953; approximately 2,000 students are now participating. But, a study undertaken by the Bureau in August, 1964, in response to a request from the Senate Appropriations Committee, revealed that the program "while making a significant contribution to the education of Navajo youth of greater than average scholastic aptitude * * * will not provide the long range solution to the hard core problem of providing high school education for the rank and file of Navajo youth." [15] The study points out that one expectation of the program, that Navajo students in public schools would become more fluent in the English language, "is not borne out to the extent hoped for." It also notes that the contractual agreements between the Bureau and the public schools do not require the receiving schools to adjust or make special provisions in their curricula, teaching materials or methods for the incoming Indian students. Another difficulty the study mentions is the split between Bureau and public school authorities of the responsibility for these young people's lives.

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[15] Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Report to the Senate Appropriations Committee on the Navajo Bordertown Dormity Program*, February 1965. Mimeographed.

> The bordertown programs suffer from a division of administrative responsibility with public school people responsible for the learning of Navajo students during the school day and the Bureau people responsible for it the rest of the time.
>
> In most cases the public school and Bureau dormitory personnel seemed to be congenial but there was evident need for more joint planning.

Regarding academic achievement, the study makes this statement:

> According to standardized test scores, the educational development of Navajo high school students is low by comparison with high school students in the country as a whole regardless of the kind of school Navajo students attend. Navajo students in bordertown schools tend to be a little higher than those attending public high schools on the reservation, but not much. The educational development of the bordertown students is not quite as high as that of Navajo students who live at home and attend school off the reservation. It is a good deal higher than that of Navajo students attending Bureau high schools.

That Navajo students' achievement is inferior to non-Navajos *regardless of the school they attend* is probably the most significant comparison.

An interesting commentary on one result of the bordertown program was provided in 1960 by a New Mexico sociologist, Dr. Tom Sasaki, addressing a workshop on the emotional problems of Indian children in schools. Dr. Sasaki notes that some Indian families decided to move into the bordertowns themselves to give their children the benefit of living at home. "These families were highly acculturated and the men folk had the kinds of work skills which were in demand." Nevertheless, and perhaps not surprisingly—

> Although the families and their children wanted to live according to their idea of middle-class American culture, they immediately found themselves in the lower class. The children found that the father's low wages and heavy expenses prevented them from being dressed in a manner acceptable to the non-Indian children; for this and other reasons related to cultural differences, they were subjected to ridicule by school mates. The children's reactions varied—some withdrew from class participataion, others became highly aggressive. Those who withdrew in the classrooms displayed their hostility and aggression after school hours. Needless to say, these families and their children did not adjust well to this bordertown life.[16]

Unfortunately, studies of the academic and psychological effects of the bordertown program are conspicuously few. The BIA study, discussed above, and a study of the students at one particular bordertown dormitory—Flagstaff—are two to have come to the attention of the

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[16] "Sources of Mental Stress in Indian Acculturation," Tom Sasaki, in *Emotional Problems of Indian Students in Boarding Schools and Related Public Schools, Workshop Proceedings, Albuquerque Indian School, April 1960.* John C. Cobb, M.D., Editor.

Subcommittee. The latter to be published in the spring of 1969, generally takes a positive rather than a negative view.[17]

The Flagstaff study looked primarily at the degree to which Navajo students in the bordertown program at Flagstaff had acculturated to or assimilated into the Anglo culture. It distinguishes between these two responses noting that "the Navajos * * * do not wish to be assimilated, but do wish to acculturate sufficiently to cope with Anglo society." An analysis of the academic achievement of the bordertown students revealed that:

> In spite of a language handicap homesickness, and certainly a considerable lack of cultural fit, nearly three-fourths of these children were achieving at or near grade level on written examinations standardized on national norms. The implications of this are quite profound.

An analysis of findings regarding the question of assimilation is summarized as follows:

> Navajo children placed in off-reservation public schools did appear to be assimilating school culture. This assimilation was particularly strong in the areas of academic achievement, use of English, vocational aspirations and the acceptance of authority figures. The acceptance of responsible leadership and an understanding and acceptance of the "Anglo" reward-sanction system seemed least assimilated.

Commenting further on the effects of the program, the investigator writes:

> The dormitory situation while often merely tolerated by the child emotionally seems to force the learning of English and provide a means of exposing the reservation Navajo to the dominant educational pattern in American culture. While he continues to look to his own people for emotional ties such as friendship, the Navajo admires and is admired by those of other cultures with whom he comes into contact.

The most interesting conclusion of the study, however, is not the finding of relative academic success or partial assimilation or the learning of English. It is, despite all this, that—

> For most of the Navajo children the public school experience was something to be tolerated rather than becoming something genuinely significant in their lives. * * * Thus it may be concluded that even though many of the Navajo children felt a commitment to formal education, their participation in formal education did not generate any strong emotional reactions to school life.

Further information about the bordertown program was provided to the Subcommittee by Mrs. Gertrude Adams, Coordinator for Indian Education for the Albuquerque Public Schools, who, as a member of an inter-disciplinary professional team, visited the homes of some of the bordertown students, has worked with some in remedial summer tutoring programs, and currently maintains working contact with the program as it functions in Albuquerque. Follow-up data forwarded by Mrs. Adams, compiled on request by staff of the administrative offices of the Albuquerque Indian school, show that students who have been graduated from the bordertown program in 1968 are more likely to continue their education than 1968 graduates of the regular boarding school program; and, further, that of the group that does continue education, more bordertown graduates go on to college, as opposed to vocational training, than do boarding school graduates. The data is presented below:

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[17] John Chilcott, "The Acculturation and Assimilation of Public School Culture by Navajo Dormitory Students", preliminary article, Flagstaff, Arizona, 1963.

	Graduates of Bordertown program		Graduates of boarding school	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Employed after graduation	5	8	38	33
Unemployed after graduation	4	6	14	12
Advanced training	54	86	64	55
Vocational		60		43
College		26		12
Total	63	100	116	100

Note: Students enrolled in the public school system are housed at the Albuquerque Indian School discussed in an earlier section.

From another perspective, however, that of grades received by bordertown students, there is less evidence of success. In the 1965-66 school year, according to testimony by Harry Saslow, Indian students in one Albuquerque public school received 16 A's out of 260 subjects taken, or less than 1% : of these, four were earned by one superior student and of the remainder, four were in the sheet metals course. In the 1967–68 school year, a random sample of grades of students in an Albuquerque school representing some 56 student-courses delivered 1 A, 12 B's, 20 C's, and 23 D's, E's, and F's; for junior high school students with 63 student-courses, there were 3 A's, 7 B's, 24 C's, and 28 D's, E's, and F's.

On the basis of personal knowledge and observations, Mrs. Adams provided additional information in answers to questions which the Subcommittee posed. In comparison with the conclusions of the BIA and Flagstaff studies, hers, below, are more enthusiastic in their support for the superiority of the bordertown program to the boarding school program. She writes:

> * * * Based on my observations during the summer extended teaching phase of our Indian Education Project, the Bordertown students seem to have an advantage academically and socially over students in the regular boarding school program. Both bordertown students and regular Albuquerque Indian school children were enrolled in courses at Del Norte High School this past summer. At the beginning of this session it was very obvious by their behavior which boys and girls attended the BIA boarding school and which attended public schools. Those from the BIA boarding school stood

> back and were not a part of the large summer group. Academically, too, they were behind the Bordertown students.
>
> By the end of the six-week course, the BIA boarding school students were much more outgoing and socially responsive to the teachers and other adult personnel as well as with their peers. Though not seen as dramatically, there was a noticeable improvement in their academic work also.
>
> The language skills of the Bordertown students is vastly superior to the children in the BIA program. I believe this is an effect of their placement. Their greater contact with non-Indians and the community in general has the effect not only of increasing the Indian's language ability, but also of giving them greater self-confidence and sophistication.

Mrs. Adams makes recommendations for improving the bordertown dormitory program. They are, first, that the majority dormitory personnel be well-trained Indians, sympathetic to the problem of the Indian child's transition from Reservation life to the Anglo community, and to the problem of the adolescent transition in general; second, that an intensive counseling program should operate at the dormitory facilities to assist with emotional problems and to advise each student on vocational possibilities; and third, that at least one liaison person should be attached to each bordertown school to work with the public schools and the bordertown staff on group or individual problems.

The paucity of objective studies on the bordertown dormitory program makes the program difficult to assess either alone or in comparison. Although available evidence suggests that students in the program are, academically, relatively successful, it must be remembered that the bordertown students represent a relatively small number of the total Navajo student population, and that those in the program are, by definition, better than average students. One wonders whether these students would not have continued to achieve had they continued in their previous program, and whether its almost 140 children age nine and under who are living in dormitories are not suffering from the same emotional difficulties away from their homes and families as their counterparts are suffering in the Bureau's regular boarding schools. In Albuquerque, at least communication between the parents and the schools has been, at best, practically non-existent, and there is no reason to suspect that the situation differs in other areas. And, although the students may fare somewhat better academically in the bordertown program, their living conditions are still those of boarding students in the rest of the system.

A study done for the subcommittee by Dr. Patrick D. Lynch, director of the Educational Service Center in Albuquerque, describes just what those living conditions are in one of the bordertown dormitories, Magdelena. In a letter of January 29, 1969, Dr. Lynch writes:

> We detected a great amount of anxiety on the part of the staff about the older Indian boys. The staff realized that the disciplinary situation was so severe that older boys were building and expressing great hostility toward the staff. Involved and lengthy stories which ended with a hint of near-sexual assaults were told.

Restraints existed in the dorm which included the following:

1. Game supplies which were missing pieces or damaged were not replaced, so as to teach the Indian children, in the words of the staff members, what happened when they didn't take care of their property.

2. The piano was locked up in a room and was not used, lest it be damaged.

3. Television was allowed on for 1–2 hours a day, only when the students behaved.

4. One student in the entire dormitory was allowed to display any personal belongings—in this case the student was an artist and was allowed to hang 3 or 4 of his works in his room. All other rooms resembled Marine barracks quarters.

5. Students were not allowed to hike or walk after dinner lest they run away. No hikes, track experiences, or walks were scheduled for Saturdays or Sundays for the same reason.

6. All students, including the 21-year-olds, were to be in bed by 9 p.m.

7. Students were not allowed home on weekends except for very special reasons. Parents were not encouraged to come to the dorm at any time except to take the student home, lest the boy or girl be tempted to leave school.

8. No physical activities or recreation activities were scheduled for any time. No clubs, no student organizations, no trips, nothing to break the monotony of the student prison life existed.

9. Staff complaints were excessive about student behavior, which in truth appeared to be very commendable, considering the prison-like atmosphere. Staff counselors were extremely critical of students.

10. No decoration, art work, rugs, or furniture arrangements were used to make the domritory seem like something other than the dreariest of jails.

11. For every positive verbal recommendation, a rejection was offered. Parents could not be brought in because they were too irresponsible and too interested in drinking. Students wanted only to run away or break things, et cetera.

The description speaks for itself.

A research study recently completed in New Mexico offers some insight into the effects of the bordertown program. The study compared the attitudes of two communities to their Spanish and Indian public school students.[18] In one of the communities, Aztec, New Mexico, the Indian children were enrolled under the bordertown dormitory program. Its conclusions follow:

> In both communities, there is almost unanimous feeling that Spanish-American and Indian children are less capable of achieving desirable goals and ultimately becoming productive members of society than are their Anglo contemporaries.
>
> This lack of ability of the minority groups appears to be perceived by Anglo members of the communities studied as a lack of innate ability and family support rather than as the fault of an inadequate school program that provides few

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[18] "The Influence of Differential Community Perceptions on the Provision of Equal Educational Opportunity": James G. Anderson, Dwight Safer, Sociology of Education, vol. 40, No. 3, summer 1967.

opportunities to compensate for the educational disadvantage of these children, many of whom can barely speak English when they enter the schools. We see again the stereotyped view of Spanish-Americans and Indians as little interested in education, as coming from families that place little value on education and do little to assist or support their children's attempts in school, and, in the care of the Indian in particular, as content to live as wards of the Federal government.

A belief in their inferiority appears to be internalized by the minority groups themselves, with unhappy consequences for their children. With minority-group parents reflecting the same negative valuation of their children's ability to achieve at the level of the dominant Anglo child as that held by school administrators, teachers, and the public at large, is it any wonder that these children are perceived as evidencing little motivation, interest, and perseverance in the schools?

The implications of these findings become all the more disturbing when one extends them beyond the context of one bordertown community to the much broader arena of Indian and minority group education throughout the country.

E. THE SCHOOL AS A COMMUNITY AGENCY

Though long a part of the education of children from middle-class backgrounds, the concept of parental involvement has only been applied to disadvantaged populations in the past few years. Remarks already cited, such as comments of the Tuba City teacher regarding weekend "check outs" and comments of the Albuquerque reviewers regarding parental ignorance of school procedures and activities indicate an almost complete *lack* of parental involvement. The concept itself for that matter, seems almost antithetical to the concept of the boarding school and its initial purpose of severing a child's familial ties.

Witnesses appearing before the Subcommittee testified to the gap between Indian parents and the BIA schools. Annie Wauneka, a member of the Navajo Tribal Council told of a decision to close a community school this way:

> My people voted not to abandon it. We did everything we can not to abandon the school because that is where the morale of the parents were, but it is abandoned. There is a community left with no school and the kids were sent 50 miles to Toya and to Greasewood and somewhere else.

Speaking about school construction in general, she continued:

> The Navajo Tribal Council has never been asked where they will be built, never. They just build them anywhere they wish. I think it is about time that the Navajo Tribal Council with its people decide now this is where we want it. We haven't done that. * * * They build these big institutions, like at Toya. * * * That means taking away little kids from other schools. * * * There is lots of empty space so they round-up these kids and fill them up.

Robert Roessel, the first director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, relates an incident dealing with the same subject in a report written for the Secretary of the Interior on Indian Education.[19]

> I am reminded of an example which took place several years ago wherein the Director of Indian Education, driving over a reservation road, stopped at a mission which had just hit water and declared that to be the site for a school. The people within the Bureau living in that area attempted to point out the close proximity of neighboring schools and the undesirability of building a school at that location. The Indian people themselves in that community attempted to relate to that individual their lack of support for a school in that particular location. Nevertheless that school was built and served on an average daily attendance basis less than five children until it was finally closed because of lack of attendance. The tens of thousands of dollars that were used to build that school could have been saved, but far more important is the principle that the Indian people must be involved.

A few months ago, a similar incident occurred with the Gallup McKinley County's closing of the Ramah High School in New Mexico. Represented by the DNA, Inc., an OEO legal services program of the Navajo reservation, the parents brought suit against the County school board. The Judge's ruling, a compromise, directed the School System to use every means available to bus the students to other county schools so that they would not be forced to attend boarding schools to receive an education. The school board, said the Judge, "must beat the bushes for every Navajo school aged child it can find so that he can attend a public school. (Vol. 1 "Law in Action" mimeo; No. 2 Sept. 30, 1968, p. 6.) This case, and others which the ONEO has taken, exemplifies both a powerful form of parental involvement through court action, made possible by the DNA, and a readiness and desire on the part of the Navajo people to exercise a significant voice in educational decisions.

The Navajo Tribe, like many Indian tribes, delegates to an Education Committee whatever responsibility for educational matters the tribe exercises. In 1966, the Education Committee met with representatives of the new BIA Navajo Area to consider the direction that Navajo education should take. Four goals were jointly established:

1. To attack the unique problems of Indian students by the provision of unique programs suited to the needs of these students, such as the ESL (English as a Second Language) program;
2. To seek maximum feasible involvement of parents and tribal leaders in the education program;
3. To develop a public information program which reflects progress made on a continuing basis;

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[19] Robert Roessel. "Observations on Indian Education within the Bureau of Indian Affairs." February 9, 1966.

> 4. To endeavor to assist in any way possible so that full utilization can be made of resources, including the Economic Opportunity Act, PL 89–10, and other similar programs which can benefit Indian people.

Since the issuance of this statement, the approach taken to seeking "maximum feasible involvement" has been the goal of local groups known as "school boards." The Area Director reports that

> In the school year 1967–68, out of fifty-five installations, fifty-one schools created and operated school boards representing 92 percent of the total. This year with greater emphasis and special help from the outside consultant in the area of parent-child involvement and school board training and workshops, we expect to have 100 percent operating school boards for the improvement of Navajo education.[20]

The Bureau is planning "workshops * * * to acquaint school board members with Bureau of Indian Affairs programs, areas wherein suggestions can and should be made, and the nature, privileges, responsibilities and duties of public school boards."

Other current activities regarding the local groups are reported by the Area Director as follows:

> With the grass roots development of the boards, a wide diversity in structure, mode of operation, number of members, and activities has resulted. As a way of bringing the best together, a set of guidelines based on the existing boards was developed and is in the process of being worked over at all levels involving Bureau of Indian Affairs and Tribal people. Once finalized, it will be presented to the Tribal Council for its consideration and passage. Thus, just as public school boards are guided by state laws, so Bureau school boards will be guided by the guidelines as passed by the Council. In the meantime, 4 out of 5 of the agencies have experienced agency meetings of local school board members at which time agency school boards have been formed. Agency school boards are being developed for the purpose of improving communications and to streamline the efforts of all the local board organizations within the agency.[21]

Since the school board structure is only of recent origin, it is not yet possible to ascertain the kind of role the board will assume or the impact they may have on decision-making. They may, like some boards, be purely advisory or rubber stamp, or they could, if properly trained and treated, develop into an agency of powerful control.

Insofar as Navajos are involved in the public schools, their involvement consists of the traditional forms of PTA membership and membership on public school boards. Statistics detailing the latter appear below:

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[20] Holmes, *Op. Cit.*
[21] *Ibid.*

NAVAJOS SERVING ON PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARDS

County	Name of school and district [1]	Number of Navajo members [2]
Apache, Ariz	Window Rock, district 8	4
	Ganado, district 19	1
	Chinle, district 24	3
	Navajo compression station, district 5	2
Navajo, Ariz	Keams Canyon, district 25	1
	Kayenta, district 27	2
Coconino, Ariz	Tuba City, district 15	2
Mckinley, N. Mex	Gallup, district 1	1
San Juan, N. Mex	Bloomfield, district 6	1
	Kirtland, district 22	2

[1] There is only 1 school per district.
[2] Out of a total of 5 each.

Assistance in interpretation of these figures should be taken from the remarks below. The analysis was made by Robert Roessel at Subcommittee hearings, December, 1967:

> Even if a public school board on the Navajo reservation were to have a majority of Navajo membership, this would not in and of itself assure direction and leadership by the Navajo community. There have been in the past several examples where either a majority of the school board were Navajo or, in one instance, every member was Navajo without having real Navajo direction and control. This basically is due to the fact that the Navajo school board members are not aware of their potential responsibilities and areas of influence. The superintendent plays the dominant role and meetings are characterized principally by Navajo acquiescence and very little participation. Therefore, the problem of local control in public schools is not so much making it legally possible for Navajo representation on school boards. To achieve effective local control, a real effort must be made on the part of the professional school administrators to educate all school board members into their responsibilities and functions.

An action by parents of students attending the Chinle School District, April, 1968, exemplifies the lack of responsiveness of the public schools. Parents approached a DNA attorney with the request that he represent them in their complaints, which included, among others, the following:

—No books at the lower level of some grades;

—Mysterious disappearances of school television sets;

—Lack of school accreditation by the North Central Association;

—School lunch problems such as 7-day old food being served, children not being allowed to eat if their parents could not pay, and being forced to sit in a lunchroom with other children who were eating;

—Students receiving what appeared to be a diploma at eighth grade graduation but in fact, for those who had not paid their lunch bill, finding instead the lunch bill wrapped as a scroll with a ribbon around it.

The school board refused to answer these grievances publicly, leading the parents to initiate actions to recall those members of the board whom they felt to be unresponsive to the people's wishes.

A study undertaken for the Office of Economic Opportunity ("Community School at Rough Rock: An Evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity," April 1969) presents further evidence of the discord between the Chinle public schools and the Navajos. All Chinle public school teachers who were interviewed stated that the current curriculum was inappropriate for Navajo pupils; and, although an organization of teachers was developing a better one, only one of the teachers thought that the superintendent would allow it to be introduced. Furthermore, the principal of the junior high school, "openly ridiculed the idea of adapting instruction in any way to the Navajo culture * * *. As for the superintendent himself, whom the director of the study interviewed twice and the assistant director once, he stated repeatedly, in numerous contexts, that Navajos were incapable of running their own affairs. They made unreasonable demands on the school, he said. If they had their way, he would be running busses to the front door of every hogan. Why should he provide free lunches to a child whose father was driving a new pick-up truck. Unless our hearing was faulty (we find it hard to believe what we are about to report), he stated that the district had a policy of falsifying achievement-test results. These kids were so far behind the national norms, he said, that 'it just wouldn't look good. People who don't know conditions here just wouldn't understand.' "

Perhaps the most striking testimony to the failure of both BIA and public schools to function as community agencies which involve Navajo parents in a meaningful way was the founding of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, supported partially by the BIA and partially by OEO funds, in July, 1966. A book describing the establishment and the initial development of the school is introduced with these words:

> A revolutionary concept of education for the Indians of the United States and probably for other minority groups is being forged in a small and remote Navajo community in northeastern Arizona. That concept focuses on two major premises: First, the Rough Rock Navajo Demonstration School is guided by the philosophy that the Indian can and should be educated to retain his identity with his native values and culture, while at the same time learning to master the Anglo culture and to take his place in the Anglo world, if he so desires. * * * Second, the Rough Rock school is controlled and directed by the Navajo people themselves; and the supremely important aspect of this local control is to prove that the Indian has the interest, desire, and capacity to provide real leadership, direction, and self-determination

> in education. The school was founded on the thesis that the Indian is best able to determine the content and direction of Indian education.[22]

Deservedly, the Rough Rock School has received a great deal of attention, not only from Indian education onlookers but from educators throughout the country seeking new ways of bringing their schools closer and making them more relevant to their communities. As the ensuing discussion will enumerate, the school differs from the traditional BIA boarding schools in several ways, and stands as one viable alternative to the prevailing practice.

The Rough Rock community consists of approximately 1200 persons scattered over an area close to 800 square miles in one of the most remote and traditional areas of the Navajo Reservation. Gallup, New Mexico, 100 miles away, is the closest sizable town; and the unpaved roads that surround the community become impassable in strong rains. The Navajos of the region are sheepherders, skilled in the traditional Navajo crafts of blanket weaving and silver work, who average an annual income of $700.

Essential features that define Rough Rock as a unique initiation include the following:

—The school is governed by a seven-man all-Navajo school board elected by the community; the board sets policy and controls the school's operation;

—School board meetings are held weekly, community residents are invited to attend;

—The children are encouraged to speak their own language as well as English;

—An hour a day of classroom instruction is provided in Navajo history, culture, and language. Classes in Navajo are provided for Anglo staff members and their children;

—Leading Navajo artists and translators have been recruited to the schools' Cultural Identification Center along with elders and medicine men who have come to record legends, chants, history, and autobiographies which are then transcribed to English;

—A program was instituted to preserve a significant phase of Navajo culture by providing training for medicine men apprentices to remedy the situation of medicine men's dying without having taught their ceremonies to younger Navajos.

—The dormitory program, developed by the School Board, brings parents or grandparents of the children who are enrolled in the school to live in the dormitories for eight week periods. These dormitory parents receive a small stipend, are instructed in basic education, English, and home economics or shops, and bring the adult-child ratio of the school to 1 to 10;

—Formal instructional sessions as well as informal conversations are held between dormitory parents and Rough Rock students to acquaint them with Navajo etiquette, beliefs, and lore.

—Students are encouraged to go home on weekends, and transportation is provided where necessary;

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[22] Broderick H. Johnson. *Navajo Education at Rough Rock*. D.I.N.E., Inc.

—Teachers visit the home of each pupil at least twice a year;
—Of 82 full-time employees in 1968, 62 were Indian, 60 of them Navajo;
—Many Navajos who could not be employed at other schools because they were not high school graduates or could not speak English have been hired at Rough Rock as dormitory aides, janitors, dormitory parents, kitchen aides, maintenance helpers, arts and crafts trainers, and instructors. During its first year, Rough Rock employed more than 40 Navajos who had never before held a permanent position.
—More than one-half of the adults in the Rough Rock community have been on the school's payroll;
—Uneducated and inexperienced employees are given instruction in their jobs and in basic education. Adult education opportunities are also available to community members.

An article by Estelle Fuchs in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, September 16, 1967, summarizes the school's achievements at that time:

> The accomplishments in the short time the school has been in operation are impressive. Trust and co-operation between the community and the school has developed. Education is no longer looked upon as a destroyer of families. By providing jobs and creating jobs for persons who would otherwise have been ineligible because of civil service restrictions, the school has made an impact on the total community. It has also demonstrated the feasibility of training for school employment the very Navajos who do not have formal education, providing high level jobs for educated Navajos, and creating new job models, such as dorm parents, that can be copied elsewhere.

Broderick Johnson reports in his book that a questionnaire administered to one-third of the families in the Rough Rock area and to families in another community in the fall of 1966 revealed that the community was impressive in its knowledge of the school and enthusiastic in its support. Only one person out of 28, for example, could not identify at least one difference between the demonstration school and the other schools on the reservation. The teaching of both cultures was a difference that was identified by 22 of the 28 families. As another example of their awareness, three-fourths of the families in the Rough Rock area were able to identify six different ways in which the demonstration school was giving the local people an opportunity to acquire experience in operating a school. The six ways were (1) local determination through the school board; (2) parental involvement and participation; (3) employment of local persons; (4) the right to speak and be heard; (5) community education meetings; and (6) the arts and crafts program. It is equally interesting to discover that more than three-fourths of the parents of Rough Rock children knew their children's teachers; 71% (20 out of 28) knew they were encouraged to visit their children's classrooms; and 14 of them had done so.

In addition to Rough Rock, a few other schools on the Navajo reservation stand out for their innovative efforts. One, the Tuba City elementary school, is a public school. The school has initiated a program of team teaching; a program of home visitor aides to bring the parents to the school and the teachers to the home; a program of materials development; and a teacher aide program that has provided necessary in-service training for Navajo and Hopi women. As a result of the changes—the increased individual attention given to each child and the increased contact between parents and school—the school's principal, Hadley Thomas, was able to report that "more students in each grade level are closer to the national norm on standardized achievement tests," and that "attendance is higher than in any previous year."

Rough Rock, the Tuba City Elementary School, and one or two others stand out for their difference. On most parts of the Navajo reservation, however, the school is neither an agency of the community nor a resource for the community—at least not yet. A proposal has been made by the Navajo Education Committee to start five additional Rough-Rock-type schools. It is, according to BIA officials, "under consideration."

F. SELECTED FEATURES OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Having looked so far at the academic and psychological "output" of Navajo education, at the Navajo "input" to the system in terms of parental or tribal influence, and at the unique situation created at Rough Rock by an alteration of the input pattern, it seems appropriate at this time to turn to a closer scrutiny of the classroom in which the Navajo child most probably finds himself. Who are his teachers and their superiors? What is the curriculum he is taught?

(1.) Personnel

Despite the fact that statistics reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1966–67 show that every year more Indians are part of the education program, the Navajo child in school will, in all probability not be taught by a Navajo teacher, though the people who clean his school building and perform other janitorial services may be Navajo. The Bureau Area Office furnishes the following statistics:[23]

Total employees in professional positions	1, 257
Indians (14.5 percent)	182
Total employees in semiprofessional positions	47
Indians (42.7 percent)	20
Total employees in nonprofessional positions	1, 315
Indians (74.5 percent)	980
Total employees in wage board positions	523
Indians (84.1 percent)	466
Total employees	3, 142
Total Indians	1, 648

The following year's report states that:

> In terms of economic benefit, of the 3,865 employed, 2,471 were Indians and of the 638 employed in Title I positions

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[23] Navajo Area Office, Division of Education, "Report for the Commissioner: School Year 1966–67," mimeographed.

over 90 percent were filled by Navajos. The Navajo parents in Title I positions earned approximately $2,000,000.

With between 1,200 and 1,300 professional personnel, the adult-pupil ratio in the classroom is still relatively high: 1 to 30–35 according to a document issued March, 1967.[24] The same documents cite 1 to 48–64 as the adult-child ratio in the dormitories.

Characteristics of the instructional staff in the Navajo Area are revealed by a recent BIA survey of its full cadre of educational personnel.

NUMBER OF INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF RESPONDING—761

	Number	Percent
Age breakdown:		
20 to 29	323	42.4
30 to 39	173	22.7
40 to 49	107	14.1
50 to 59	92	12.1
60 and over	64	8.4
No response	2	.3
Teaching experience:		
1 year or less	85	11.2
2 to 5	296	38.9
6 to 10	126	16.6
11 to 20	122	16.0
21 to 30	52	6.8
31 and over	37	4.9
No response	43	5.7
Indian descent:		
Yes	88	11.6
No	672	88.3
No response	1	.1
Educational background:		
Less than bachelor's degree	39	5.1
Bachelor's degree	617	81.1
Master's degree	103	13.5
Doctor's degree	1	.1
No response	1	.1
BIA teaching experience:		
1 year or less	239	31.4
2 to 5	331	43.5
6 to 10	81	10.6
11 to 20	72	9.5
21 to 30	15	2.0
31 and over	6	.8
No response	17	2.2
Holding teaching certificate from some State:		
Yes	554	72.8
No	144	18.9
No response	63	8.3
Teaching at present location:		
1 year or less	302	39.7
2 to 5	346	45.5
6 to 10	64	8.4
11 to 20	21	2.8
21 to 30	1	.1
31 and over	3	.4
No response	24	3.2

Comparing Navajo Area personnel with the full BIA instructional staff population, three significant differences emerge. First, 42.4% of Navajo Area instructional staff are between the ages of 20 and 29 as compared with 29.6% in the total BIA system; second, only 11.6% of Navajo Area instructional staff are of Indian descent as compared to 16.0% for the total; and third, only 13.3% of Navajo Area personnel have a Master's degree compared to 20.0% of the instructional staff in the BIA system as a whole. In short, younger teachers, less likely to have advanced beyond the bachelor's degree, have been attracted to the Navajo reservation. Their motivation may be similar to that of Peace Corps volunteers, groups of whom are sent to Navajo schools as part of their volunteer training.

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[24] Bureau of Indian Affairs. "Narrative of P.L. 89–10: Navajo Area ESL Project. March, 1967," mimeographed.

The turnover rate for teachers of Navajo students appears to be about the same as the turnover rate for teachers in any system. The Area Director informed the Subcommittee that "the teachers leaving the Bureau are roughly figured at 20% each year. This compares favorably with public schools in districts on and peripheral to the reservation." [25] The reasons that teachers leave the system, however, are also of interest. They are suggested in a research study of teacher turnover which analyzed personnel records of teachers separated from Navajo service between 1940 and 1950. With an estimated 13.2% turnover rate for that decade, the author writes:

> It is concluded that 85.5% separated through transfer or resignation left the Service mainly because of (1) too much isolation; (2) low rate of pay; (3) family responsibilities; (4) poor supervision and/or poor administration; (5) desire to return to school; and (6) disagreement with the curriculum.

Requesting that the former employees provide suggestions for improving the Service, the investigator found that:

> A request for the provision of better administration at all levels ranked first, with 19.1% and closely associated, if not a part of the most frequently mentioned item, is a request for better personnel management.
>
> A suggestion that a better school program be provided was made by 19.9% of the group who submitted ideas. Also, 34% were dissatisfied with the curriculum they were expected to teach.[26]

These teachers' dissatisfaction with the quality of administration is probably related to the fact that the majority of administrators on the Navajo reservation have not come to their positions with any special training or preparation for the role. In the 1967–68 school year, 70% of them did not hold an administrator's certificate, as opposed to a percentage of 55.0% of all BIA administrators.

Data regarding personnel in administrative positions as gathered by the BIA survey in the Navajo Area are presented below.

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[25] Holmes, *Op. Cit*

[26] Kenneth K. Crites, *A Study of Teacher Turnover on the Navajo Reservation*, (University of New Mexico Thesis, 1953).

NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF RESPONDING—140

	Number	Percent
Age breakdown:		
20 to 29	16	11.4
30 to 39	45	32.1
40 to 49	29	20.7
50 to 59	26	18.6
60 and over	22	15.7
No response	2	1.4
Indian descent:		
Yes	42	30.0
No	98	70.0
Teaching experience:		
1 year or less	7	5.0
2 to 5	38	27.1
6 to 10	36	25.7
11 to 20	34	24.3
21 to 30	12	8.6
31 and over	1	.7
No response	12	8.6
Administrative experience:		
1 year or less	13	9.3
2 to 5	33	23.6
6 to 10	27	19.3
11 to 20	32	22.9
21 to 30	9	6.4
31 and over	1	.7
No response	25	17.9
Hold administrator's certificate:		
Yes	24	17.1
No	98	70.1
No response	18	12.9

From this and remaining data, it is possible to draw the following portrait of the Navajo Area administrator: he is a married male between 30 and 49 who has a bachelor's degree but not an administrator's certificate; he taught between 2 and 10 years in BIA schools and has been a BIA administrator either for between 2 and 5 years or between 11 and 20. Using the above figures again, it is possible to deduce that approximately 41% of these individuals, 29.2% of the present total, were holding administrative positions at the time of the teacher-turnover study.

Robert Roessel, the first director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School has said of these personnel:

> I know of no other kind of educational system which allows for administrators who have had no training in administration. In every state with which I am familiar there are special kinds of information and courses required before a person can become an administrator. Within the Bureau this is not necessary and many, if not most, administrators today have come from the teaching ranks and have no understanding of the process or techniques of school administration. Consequently, we find administrators who display little positive leadership and often have a singular lack of imagination.[27]

Another observer, an administrator of a northern public school system, who spent the summer of 1967 studying Navajo education, also commented on the quality of its administration. Dr. Thomas Aquila writes:

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[27] Roessel, *Op. Cit.*

> Administration attitudes set a climate for frustration and hostility among teaching staff. Authoritarian approach simply outdated. Should lead by example and persuasion.
>
> The limited involvement of teacher personnel in determination of objectives and budgets breeds considerable indifference and dissatisfaction with the BIA mission.
>
> The "system" somehow encourages mediocrity, limited performance and a kind of clerklike mentality. It simply does not bring out the best in people.

Comparable descriptive data on public school personnel who teach Indian youngsters and administer their programs is not readily available. In Gallup-McKinley County, however, a county with approximately 60% Indian enrollment, 7 teachers are Indian of a total teaching staff of 450; the custodial staff is 60 to 70% Indian, and 1 Indian serves on a school board of 5 members.

Whether in the BIA or public school systems, it is more likely than not that a teacher of Navajo students will not have had special training to prepare for teaching the Indian population. Arizona State University was the first university in the country to offer the Master of Arts degree in the field of Indian Education. It is one of the few that offers such courses. The University of New Mexico, Brigham Young University and Fort Lewis College at Durango, Colorado have recently instituted similar programs. Although a program such as the Teacher Aide program at the Tuba City Elementary School (mentioned earlier), has proven to be a source of prospective Indian teachers, and although the Teachers Corps Program for the Navajo reservation will produce a group of young teachers who are particularly and suitably trained for their teaching responsibilities, most of the men and women teaching today have not had requisite specialized training. One study, an investigation of Indian high school graduates' intentions to continue education, found that only 17.5% of their teachers in two Arizona counties responded positively when asked if they had taken special courses to assist them in working with Indian children.[28]

One author describes the situation this way:

> The great majority of teachers and counselors coming into the field of Navajo education have no knowledge of Navajo culture or people before beginning work; none being required by either the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the states in which the Navajo Reservation lies. Although all Bureau establishments (and some of the public schools serving Navajos) have an orientation program for new employees, this lasts two weeks at most; and it is frequently attended for the first time by teachers who have already been in Navajo classrooms for a year or more and concentrates mainly on adaptation of

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[28] John Ray Hamblin, "A Study of the Important Factors Which Encourage Indian Students in Apache and Navajo Counties in Arizona to Seek a Higher Education After High School Graduation." (Brigham Young University, 1963), Masters Thesis.

> classroom techniques to the local school situation. Although an exposure to Navajo culture is attempted in the orientation of reservation school employees, it is too brief and underemphasized to provide any basis for cultural understanding.
>
> Off-reservation teachers of Navajos are even less fortunate in that their orientation is shorter and permits no exposure to the Navajos' home environment. Nor has the author ever observed any concerted administrative effort to remedy this lack of opportunity for cultural understanding, since each teacher is left to his or her own devices.[29]

Even if the average teacher were optionally trained to work with Navajo students in general, she would still be faced with a major diagnostic problem each time she attempted to learn more about an individual student.

One of the unfortunate aspects of current Navajo education is the lack of a Navajo-wide standardization of cumulative folders. A not untypical Navajo student might go for two or three years to a reservation day or boarding school administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Here a cumulative folder is begun, it is hoped, in compliance with procedures established by that particular reservation sub-agency. The student might then be transferred to a BIA off-reservation boarding school which has a different system of records. From there, if he reaches a high school level of achievement, he might transfer to an off- or on-reservation public school, administered by the State, again with a different policy of record-keeping. Furthermore, it is extremely unlikely that the original cumulative record will keep pace with student's travels. The author has taught in three BIA Reservation boarding schools and two BIA Reservation day schools, as well as in the largest of the BIA off-reservation boarding schools. In addition, he has had professional contact with the staffs of an off-reservation public school enrolling Navajo students, as well as a reservation public school.[30] On the basis of this experience it is safe to say that in a great many cases cumulative student records are incomplete and often nonexistent.

(2.) *Curriculum*

If the teachers from whom they receive instruction are, on the whole, not particularly well-prepared to teach them, the curriculum that Indian children study is hardly more relevant. As a leading educator has suggested: "There are more pages in American History books on the exploration of the African coast prior to Columbus' discovering America than pages on all of the Indian history on this continent prior to that time." [31] The irrelevance and consequent meaninglessness of much of the curriculum to the experience of the Indian child is complicated by the fact that the language of the schools, English, is also foreign. Since less than half of the Navajo people are literate in the English language, their children must learn it as a second language, and to profit at all from their other school classes, must learn it to a high degree of proficiency.

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[29] Edward Charles Hinckley, "The Need for Student Records in the Counseling of Navajo Students," *Journal of American Indian Education*, Volume II, No. 3 (May, 1963).

[30] Chinle Boarding School, Lukachukai Boarding School, Pinon Boarding School, Smoke Signal Day School, Whippoorwill Trailer School, Intermountain Indian Schoool, Aztec Dormitory, Chinle Public School.

[31] Glen Nimnict and Francis McKinley, "Recommendations to a Senate Investigating Committee on Education of Indians."

The problem of materials that are either irrelevant or that portray the Indian according to Hollywood-type cowboy-and-Indian stereotypes ranges across all classrooms with Indian youngsters, not only Navajos. Efforts underway at Rough Rock's Curriculum Center to develop texts whose stories make sense in terms of the Navajo child's culture and upbringing are directed at filling the materials gap, and the heavy involvement of the Navajo people in their development promises the materials' validity. Seven books will be published: five for the elementary level and two for the intermediate. Titles of the elementary texts are: *Coyote Legends*, *History of Rough Rock*, *Grandfather Stories*, *Honnie of Black Mountain* (the story of an average Navajo) and *Denetsosie* (the life story of a well-known medicine man). *Navajo Biographies* and *Navajo History* comprise the intermediate volumes. Material for another, this one intended for upper intermediate grades, is also being compiled. It will cover current Navajo programs, problems, and contemporary Navajo life. The Navajo Social Studies Project, supported by the BIA and conducted by personnel at the University of New Mexico, also recognizes the needs for culturally relevant social studies materials for Navajo students. Its goals is to produce units for each grade level to supplement, for four to six weeks, the regular social studies curriculum.

The curriculum area which has received the most attention to date, however, has been English. As early as the 1930's, the Bureau of Indian Affairs demonstrated a concern with the problems of teaching and learning English as a second language. Bilingual readers, dictionaries, descriptive grammars and other materials were developed with relation to specific Indian languages. Attempts such as these were complemented by the publication by the Bureau of a bilingual newspaper printed in Navajo on one side, English on the other, and by classes for adults to teach literacy in the Navajo language. Publication of the newspaper ceased in 1954, and was later replaced by the all English language tribal paper, the *Navajo Times*. Curriculum development efforts had ceased earlier, with the advent of World War II.

In 1966, some thirty years after its prior commitment, the Bureau acknowledged the work of some then experimenting teachers and initiated a program to implement the teaching of English as a Second Language (TESL) in all Bureau schools.[32] Funds available under

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[32] Navajo Area publication "The Rationale of Navajo Area's English—as a Second Language Program," describes the pilot efforts leading to this decision and the procedures for its implementation.

P.L. 89–10 Title I supported the launching of demonstrations in selected schools, three-week summer institutes, teacher training, and curriculum development activities by university personnel under contract to the BIA. Although no data regarding the success of the program is available to date, it will probably be constrained by two major difficulties; first, that teacher training efforts to date have been too limited to assure teachers developing the necessary specialized skills, and second, that the materials used to date have been ones constructed with a Spanish-English bias. Unfortunately, speakers of Spanish and speakers of Navajo encounter different problems as they attempt to learn English, and different materials must be prepared that anticipate these divergencies.

Finally, in the area of curriculum development, the BIA Navajo Area Office recently launched an area-wide curriculum building project. Described in the 1967–68 Report to the Commissioner:

> The basic plan calls for an organization of local curricula committees, including parents, which feed recommendations to their Agency Education office. The five Agencies have organized curricular committees which will collate the local school recommendations and feed them to the Area Education Committees.

Reporting on progress for the school year 1968–69, the Area office writes:

> Work will continue toward developing Navajo Area Curriculum. Suggested distinctive needs which make Navajo education unique will be evaluated and tested. A wide variety of materials through which these needs can be met will be evaluated. Priorities will be set for the actual writing of the curriculum documents, and consultants will be selected to assist Area and Agency committees in developing first drafts.[33]

The initiation of an Area-wide curriculum project serves as further demonstration of the critical gap in materials which meet the "distinctive needs which make Navajo education unique." The approach which has been taken, however—a series of committees, each of which makes recommendations to other committes (as pictured on the following page) is, at the least, a questionable one.

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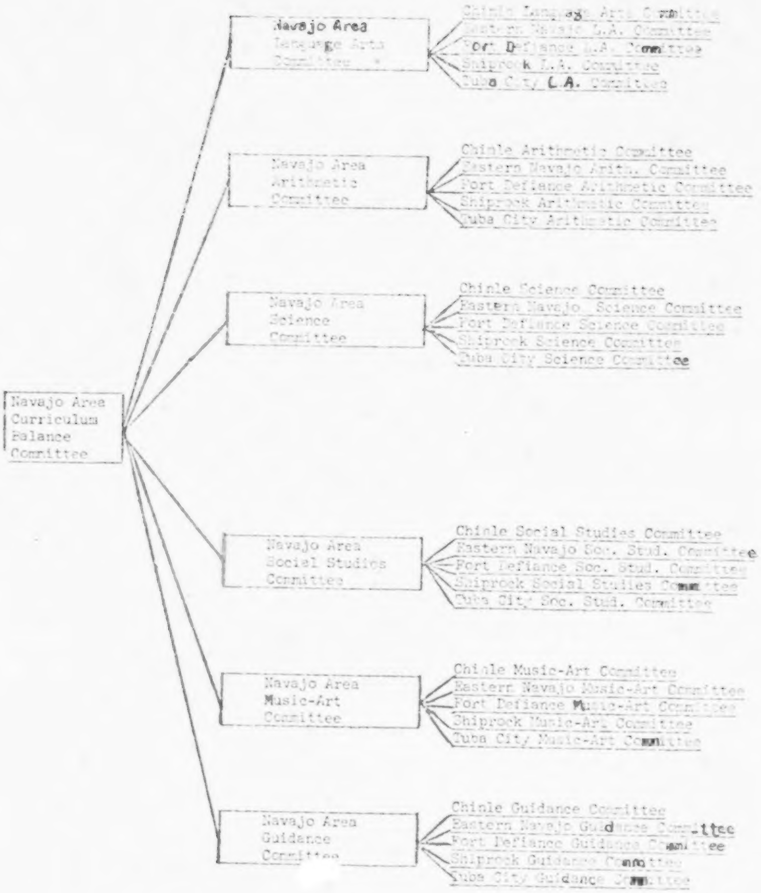
[33] "Something about Navajo Education, School Year 1968–69," undated, mimeographed.


Navajo Area Curriculum Balance Committee
Navajo Area Language Arts Committee *
Chinle Language Arts Committee
Eastern Navajo L.A. Committee
Fort Defiance L.A. Committee
Shiprock L.A. Committee
Tuba City L.A. Committee
Navajo Area Arithmetic Committee
Chinle Arithmetic Committee
Eastern Navajo Arith. Committee
Fort Defiance Arithmetic Committee
Shiprock Arithmetic Committee
Tuba City Arithmetic Committee
Navajo Area Science Committee
Chinle Science Committee
Eastern Navajo Science Committee
Fort Defiance Science Committee
Shiprock Science Committee
Tuba City Science Committee
Navajo Area Social Studies Committee
Chinle Social Studies Committee
Eastern Navajo Soc. Stud. Committee
Fort Defiance Soc. Stud. Committee
Shiprock Social Studies Committee
Tuba City Soc. Stud. Committee
Navajo Area Music-Art Committee
Chinle Music-Art Committee
Eastern Navajo Music-Art Committee
Fort Defiance Music-Art Committee
Shiprock Music-Art Committee
Tuba City Music-Art Committee
Navajo Area Guidance Committee
Chinle Guidance Committee
Eastern Navajo Guidance Committee
Fort Defiance Guidance Committee
Shiprock Guidance Committee
Tuba City Guidance Committee

The curriculum development process, as currently approached by specialized teams in universities, schools, and laboratories across the country is a costly, time-consuming, complex endeavor that demands the talents of subject matter scholars, teachers, behavioral and child development psychologists, and research and evaluation personnel. Performed properly it involves specification of objectives, development of materials and evaluative instruments, field-testing of the developed products, revision, and subsequent testing-revision cycles until student performance reaches a predetermined level of acceptability.

$5.5 million was invested by the National Science Foundation in the development of PSSC Physics alone, and over 200 individuals contributed to the seven year effort; $4.5 million was spent for a version of the "new" math. The Biological Sciences Curriculum Studies cost $10 million for 2000 people working six years. On the basis of such precedent, it is not impossible not to doubt the viability of the Bureau approach or to question the quality and validity of any resultant products.

(3.) *Higher education*

Although the scope of this report is limited to elementary and secondary education, one gauge of the success of programs at those levels is whether graduates of the secondary schools go on to forms of higher education. In the case of the Navajos, in particular, higher education is of special importance since the future welfare of the Tribe will undoubtedly depend in part on its college educated and professionally trained members.

Recognizing the importance of higher education, the Navajo Tribal Council in 1954 appropriated $30,000 to begin a tribal scholarship program. By 1959, increases in appropriations brought the fund to $10,000,000. By 1967, a total of approximately 3,200 college and post high school students had been assisted.

For the 1966–67 school year, well over 100 students were also in colleges through Federal grants, and additional students were in vocational and technical schools. The following year, approximately 800 Navajo students were being assisted under Federal Higher Education grants and the Navajo Tribal Scholarship Program. The Area Office Director reports that college scholarship funds have been outstripped this year by the requests for aid, due to increasing numbers of secondary graduates who wish to continue their education, to increase college costs, and to recently enacted Congressional legislation authorizing Bureau grant funds to be used by students attending private sectarian colleges. Testimony before the subcommittee also indicated that funds presently available are not adequate to cover expenses of students in graduate programs.

The most significant event to occur in Navajo higher education, and perhaps in the entire Indian higher education program since the establishment of the scholarship program will be the opening of the Navajo Community College, scheduled for January, 1969. The *Navajo Times* announced in August, 1968, that a grant of $454,150 would be awarded by OEO, supplemented by funds from the Donner Foundation, for the launching of the new institution. The college, now in the final planning stages, will offer a two-year program. Its first director, Robert A. Roessel, Jr., describes its intent in a brochure entitled "Introducing Navajo Community College:"

> Programs will be offered which are designed not only for students who are interested in the first two years of college and plan to transfer to another institution to complete a four-year program, not only for students who are interested in a

> vocational-technical program which is geared to job opportunities existing in the region, but also to those who have not had the opportunity to attend any school or who have completed only a limited education. In other words, this college has its arms open to welcome and to accept, and hopefully, to help all students who wish to enroll and take advantage of what the college offers.

The brochure explains further that the ability to speak English is not a requirement for admission as "Programs for all types of students will be developed to meet individual needs;" that "a great effort will be made to help those who need financial assistance;" and that a special program designed to develop future leaders will be offered, guided by a group of Tribal leaders from throughout the nation who will serve as an advisory board to the leadership program.

The Navajo Community College promises to be a singular student-oriented institution. The first college anywhere to be located on an Indian reservation and the first to be controlled by an all-Indian Board of Regents, it bears watching as it opens for the first group of Navajo students in a college designed expressly for them.

B. Providing an Equal Educational Opportunity for the Alaskan Native

1. BACKGROUND*

Recent estimates place the number of Eskimos, Indians and Aleuts residing in Alaska at about 53,000 people, or approximately one-fifth of the total population of the State. Except for about 1,000 Indians on two small reservations, the natives live in towns and villages scattered throughout the half million square miles of the State—an area greater than the combined areas of the 19 most eastern states of the United States.

Though some migration of native persons from their original habitats has occurred, the regions are generally occupied by one of the major native groups. The Eskimos live on the western and northern coasts along the Bering Sea and Arctic Sea; they comprise somewhat more than half of the total native population. The next largest group of natives, the Indians, live in southeastern, interior and south-central Alaska. And, in southwestern Alaska, along the Alaska peninsula and Aleutian chain, live the Aleuts, the smallest of the three. Native persons and families who have moved to urban areas, particularly Anchorage and Fairbanks, are exceptions to these patterns.

More than 70% of Alaskan natives live in 178 villages or towns in which half or more residents are native; half of these places have populations of 155 persons or less. Another 25% of Alaskan natives live in 6 urban places, but primarily in Anchorage and Fairbanks.

Migration of Natives to urban places has been fairly substantial in recent years. Between 1960 and the present, the total native population of Alaska's six largest cities has doubled to approximately 10,000.

In Alaska's largest city, Anchorage, the number of native school children has quadrupled since 1967.

Migration from rural villages to larger native regional centers is also occurring. Four of these places were visited by the Subcommittee: Bethel, Nome, Kotzebue, Pt. Barrow, Fort Yukon. Both Kotzebue and Bethel have grown to approximately 2,000 persons, nearly tripling their 1950 population. Barrow, with approximately 2,000 persons doubled in size since 1950. Although these larger native villages consist of a largely native population, they tend to be controlled by a handful of white businessmen who own and operate, usually at considerable profit, the general trading stores, the charter airlines service, small hotels and restaurants, tourist trade facilities and services, native "slum housing" and the fuel, electricity and often water supplies.

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* Much of the descriptive information contained in this field report has been taken from *Alaska Natives and the Land* (October, 1968), prepared by the Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska. Additional information was supplied by Mr. Robert D. Arnold of the Field Committee staff. We would like to express our appreciation to Mr. Arnold and the Field Committee for their excellent publication and their considerable assistance to the Subcommittee.

Their ownership poses a serious problem for the natives which has not yet been adequately analyzed.

Although migration to urban areas and regional centers is taking place, native villages are not disappearing from the Alaskan scene, despite many predictions to the contrary. Today there are only 12 fewer separate native places of 25 people or more than were indicated in the 1950 census, and more than 80% of the places continuing to exist are larger than they were 17 years ago.

The median age of Alaska native population is 16.3 years. More than 77% of natives are younger than 35 years of age. The population's youthfulness is the result of a short life span, a high birth rate, and recent reductions in infant mortality. The native population is growing at a rate nearly twice that of the United States as a whole. The crude rate of natural increase is comparable to that of Southeast Asia or South America, regions typically described as having population explosions.

2. Income

More Alaskan Natives are unemployed or seasonally employed than have permanent jobs. More than half of the working force is jobless most of the year; for them hunting, fishing and trapping activities provide basic subsistence. Only 1/4 of the work force, estimated to be composed of 16,000 to 17,000 persons, has continuing employment. Unemployment rates vary from a high of approximately 60% during the winter to a low of approximately 25% in the summer. Of approximately 14,000 federal employees in the state of Alaska, 1,400 or approximately 10% are Alaskan natives. Most are in lower level jobs such as laborers, building maintenance men, mess attendants—but some hold positions such as licensed and practical nurses, clerk typists; and a few hold skilled positions such as teachers, airline pilots. Native unemployment is higher than non-native unemployment in urban areas.

Year-round jobs in most villages are very few. Typically the opportunities are limited to positions such as school maintenance men, postmaster, airline agent, village store manager, possibly school cook or teacher aide. Weather or flight stations or Air Force installations offer a few additional job opportunities near some of the villages. Other sources of income are the sale of furs, fish, or arts and crafts; seasonal employment away from the villages as firefighters, cannery workers, or construction laborers; and welfare payments. Usually, natives gather the bulk of their food supply by fishing, hunting, and trapping, and rely on a combination of means to obtain cash for fuel, food staples and the tools and supplies necessary to harvest fish and wildlife. Income figures available from the U.S. Census of 1960 show a median per capita income of $1,204 for rural natives with income. One of three natives was totally without income. The median income per capita for urban Indians with income—no data exists for urban Eskimos and Aleuts—was $1,863 as compared to whites of the same year at $4,768.

The high cost of living in Alaska exacerbates the poverty conditions. Basic commodities cost 23% more in Anchorage than in Seattle, and up to 74% more in northern villages (1963 figures). A 25% cost-of-living allowance is added to the basic pay of federal employees in Alaska, and higher minimum incomes are allowed to beneficiaries of federal anti-poverty programs (the minimum income allowance is also 25% higher.)

Recent studies indicate that the severe poverty documented in the 1960 census persists. In urban Fairbanks in 1967 most of the Indians were living in poverty.

3. HEALTH

On the average, Alaskan Natives live only half as long as the average non-native. The average age of death of an Alaskan native is 34.5 years. Even more shocking 25% of the total native deaths occur in infants under 1 year of age.

Although the infant mortality rate has been reduced in recent years, it is still exceptional. During the period from 1 to 5 months of age, the mortality rate increases to 5 times that of whites, and among native infants age 6 to 11 months the death rate is more than 12 times higher than the death rate of white Alaskans.

In the course of its field investigation, the Subcommittee also discovered that inner ear infections which cause broken ear drums and draining pus are practically universal among Native children. We found these children in every village we visited, and every teacher we spoke with complained of her students being hard-of-hearing.

A recent Public Health Service study in Western Alaska found that 38% of the children had significant hearing handicaps by the age of four. There are presently over 2,000 children who have lost almost all of their hearing in one or both ears who are waiting their turn for surgical repair in Anchorage, Alaska. Some children have no ear drum left at all except for a rim. Others have been damaged so severely that surgery will not help and the ear is simply sewn shut to prevent any further infections. In some cases the infection has eaten its way through to the brain, causing an abcess and death or permanent brain damage.

Large numbers of Alaskan native children suffer from chronic upper respiratory infections. As a result, bronchictasis, a serious type of residual lung damage, is seen with frequency among Native children and rarely, if ever, seen among children in any other part of our nation. Despite a massive campaign over the last 14 years, tuberculosis continues at a rate 10 times the national average. Many native children now in school grew up in the midst of a TB epidemic in the early 1950's. Many have been hospitalized for long periods of time. Many have grown up with one or both parents dead, or missing for long periods of time because of prolonged hospitalization. A recent study of a group of these children, aged 10–12, found that they cannot relate well to their families or other persons, are failing in school, and are also failing to grow in a normal fashion physically. These effects have occurred even though it was the parents, not the child, that was ill.

Infectious diseases such as impetigo and other skin infections are common among native children. In one instance a child's outer ear had been completely destroyed by impetigo. In many cases the skin infections result in permanent scarring.

Infectious diarrhea and hepatitis afflict substantial numbers of native children and often lead to death or permanent brain damage. Even cases of dysentery and typhoid fever are not uncommon. There is a high incidence of mental retardation among Alaskan native children, at least 50% of which was preventable; most of it is due to acute infectious diseases suffered in early life.

In testimony before the Subcommittee, Dr. Martha Wilson, of the Alaska Native Medical Center, placed the severity of the health problem in perspective. She stated:

> * * * the Alaska Native people have suffered epidemics of tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, otitus media, meningitis and bronchictasis that have not to our knowledge been paralleled in any other population of the modern world.

All of the diseases mentioned and others combine to keep a large number of children sick a significant proportion of the time. Last year three thousand, or roughly 15% of the native children were hospitalized and hospitalization itself can be a traumatic experience. Imagine a child who becomes ill in a village, who is taken perhaps 100 miles to a field hospital, often by someone other than his parents, who is transferred 400–600 miles to the referral hospital where he spends one to three months probably without seeing parents or relatives, and who then returns home, again escorted by a stranger. Severe emotional disturbance is often the result of such an experience.

In addition to disease, the Alaskan native child suffers from dietary deficiencies and general malnutrition which are debilitating in themselves as well as a significant factor in the high rate of sickness. For example, children suffering from anemia or iron deficiencies, conditions which are wide-spread among native children, have a higher frequency of illness than other children, and three out of four of their illnesses are upper respiratory infections. The Division of Indian Health has noted that general malnutrition is a contributing factor to many illnesses, that it increases the susceptibility to infections, and reduces the capacity to recover. The Division has also noted that malnutrition in conjunction with other diseases often goes unreported.

A thorough study of 11 villages conducted between 1956 and 1961 found that food supplies fluctuate enormously throughout the year, and that at no age level was the daily calorie intake equal to that recommended by the National Research Council. Of the diets examined, 75% or more were low in vitamin A and thiamin; 25% were low on riboflavine. The amount of these nutrients consumed by the villagers on a per person, per day basis compared with whites having a per capita income of $1,250 per year. Finally, analysis of infant diets, showed that a significant proportion were inadequate in calories, iron, thiamine, niacine and ascorbic acid.

In addition to other diseases, dental diseases are nearly universal among the Alaskan Native population. Orthodontic problems reach staggering proportions and the consequences include pain, infection and loss of teeth.

Problems of mental health among Alaskan natives are serious and growing. Over a 16-year period when the population grew by about

50%, the number of suicides and alcoholics doubled. Much of the mental health problem is clearly a function of the destructive impact of the dominant society on tribal subsistence economy villages. According to Dr. Joseph Bloom, chief of the Area Mental Health Unit of the U.S. Public Health Service in Anchorage May 1968:

> If mental health problems are broadly construed to include not only mental illness and alcoholism, but also child neglect and delinquency and other behavioral problems, then mental health problems are the major health problem of Alaskan natives today.

If a significant improvement in Alaskan health is to occur it must be sought in the improvement of the socio-economic conditions under which Alaskan natives live. And if education programs are to be successful in Alaska, health conditions of babies and native children must be substantially improved.

4. HOUSING

Native housing in Alaska's villages is generally considered to be the most primitive, dilapidated and substandard housing anywhere in the United States. Of some 7,500 homes, about 7,100 need replacement according to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In addition, 344 new dwellings are needed annually because of population increases.

In the southwestern part of Alaska (which the Subcommittee visited first) the natives live in one-room houses made of materials which are typically available—driftwood, lumber, plywood or logs. Housing is grossly inadequate and has contributed to the presence or spread of tuberculosis, infectious hepatitis, impetigo, infectious diarrhea, and viral infection. Quality is inferior, and space per occupant and per family unit is inadequate. Poor and deteriorating construction drains scarce fuel supplies. Cold and drafty homes contribute to illnesses and likewise, tightly-sealed homes are unhealthful for lack of fresh air.

Government-owned housing of teachers or other governmental employees imported to the villages is, on the other hand, quite comfortable. Housing is usually attached to the school in a compound outside the native village, segregated from the native housing. Government housing has clean well water, electricity, oil heating and flush toilets. The natives have none of these, and the amenities are not shared. The contrast is dramatic to say the least.

The largest city in western Alaska, Nome, was also visited by the Subcommittee, here too, overcrowding is the typical situation, although the homes—many of which date to gold rush days—are somewhat larger than elsewhere in the west. Sargent Shriver visited Nome in 1967 and described its housing:

> Most of the native houses in the city are ramshackled, falling down places. But even this city has a slum that is worse than the rest of the town where 500 natives live in the most abject poverty that I have seen anywhere, including Africa, Latin America, India or anywhere else.

Location of native villagers is an important reason for substandard dwellings in village Alaska, but it is certainly not the only explanation. Federally insured loans are not available, even to those with the ability to repay if they do not possess title to the land upon which a house is to be situated, and most Alaskan villagers are landless. Nor are most other federal housing programs available to those without water and sewer systems, and most villages are without these facilities. Minimum size and construction standards imposed by federal housing programs are inappropriate to villages. Private loans are seldom available to remote villagers.

Most villages do not have a community power source and most homes have no electricity even from private power plants. In every instance, however, the State rural school or the federal rural school has its own clean water supply, sanitation facilities, a comfortable home for the teacher, generators providing power and electricity for the school and the home, and a backup generator with substantial capacity, which most of the time is not being used. In only one instance is the additional power capacity of a federal facility in a native village used to provide electricity for that village; that exception is Barrow, Alaska, thanks to a bill passed by Congress under the sponsorship of Senator Bartlett. Even in Barrow, a dam for water storage and a processing plant were built to provide clean water for the PHS hospital and BIA school but *not* for the native village.

Present and anticipated housing programs fall far short of meeting the needs. Following a 1966 visit to the Bethel area of southwestern Alaska, the then Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration said of the housing in the area:

> I've never seen anything like it, even in the worst slums in our major cities.

And she added:

> In the forty-eight, we are trying to get rid of our privies. In Alaska we felt it would be a great advance just to have privies.

5. Water Supply and Waste Disposal

In most villages, primitive and unsanitary water supply and waste disposal practices have deleterious consequences on native health. Adequate sanitation facilities are lacking in every village except Nome.

A recent survey conducted in the villages of northwestern Alaska found that 725 village households draw upon unsatisfactory surface waters for their water; only 74 draw water from wells. In the 799 households surveyed, there were only 19 toilets, and all of these but one were in a single village. More than half of the households use pots or pails indoors for human waste, and deposit the waste later on the ground or sea ice. About one-fourth of the households have privies, but half were unsatisfactory from the sanitation standpoint. Water for domestic purposes in most villages was obtained from rivers and creeks near the villages, and hauled in buckets to oil drums in the homes. In winter, ice is melted for water, even in some BIA schools.

Even in Nome the high cost of sewer and water service connections preclude most native families from having either. Only three native households (of 154 surveyed) used city water; none were connected to the sewer. Nearly all native families in Nome purchase water from a vender or obtain it from a spring three miles from town.

Human waste disposal is accomplished by box and pail toilets in the home and final disposal on the beach of Norton Sound.

Spring flooding further complicates village sanitation as floods inundate many river villages and wash the contents of latrines and refuse dumps throughout the village, polluting water wells. Pits fill with surface water and become breeding places for flies and mosquitoes. An official report states:

> Until sanitation facilities are at the minimally acceptable level, the incidence of gastroenteretic diseases and hepatitis will persist, with the potential for serious epidemics.

Since 1961, only 37 villages have had sanitation facilities constructed under provisions of the Indian Sanitation Act. Twenty-two of these village projects have been communal water and individual waste projects. The example of a village just outside of Bethel is typical. Here the individual facilities consist of a pit privy, a sink seepage pit, garbage can, storage cans and water carrying cans for each household; the community facilities consist of a fenced refuse disposal area behind the village and a community watering point within the village with a well, a well house, and water treatment and storage tank. Although a village well for common use and privy and pots and pails for each household may seem primitive, they are a vast improvement over existing practices.

Total funds available for 1961 through 1968 for Indian Sanitation have totaled 4.5 million. At this rate of funding, it will require at least 20 more years to make clean water available to all villagers and to enable them to dispose of human waste in a reasonably sanitary way. Following the subcommittee field trip in Alaska, Senators Stevens and Kennedy introduced legislation to provide more adequate facilities and reduce the 20 years to five.

6. Poverty and the Power Structure

As noted in the section on housing, government compounds whether H.E.W., FAA or Defense are almost always outside of the village. Working facilities along with housing and recreational facilities cluster together in a clearly defined area separated from the native village itself. The practice smacks of colonialism.

A number of examples of economic exploitation point up a second relationship between the small white minority and the majority native population whom they dominate in the larger villages. For example, few natives are employed in the entirely white-owned and largely out-of-state-owned canneries in the Bristol Bay area, the site of the best salmon fishing, but the canneries rely almost entirely on natives for fishing.

The substantially growing tourist trade throughout Alaska provides another example of demeaning exploitation. In Nome, for example, the King Island Village serves as a center of attraction for Alaskan Airline tours. Hundreds of tourists are taken to the miserably poor village by bus where the villagers dance and sell their ivory carvings, etc. Alaskan Airlines is undoubtedly profiting from the excursions but very little of those profits are accruing to the natives who are making it possible.

Another example of the relationship in Nome between natives and whites is the track system in the K-12 public schools with a 60% native student population. Almost all of the natives can be found in the bottom track and almost all the white students in the top. Only 2 native students have been graduated from the high school in recent years.

Although nobody admits to discrimination and prejudice in Alaska, these conditions often appear in covert, paternalistic and subtle forms. In one of the larger native villages, Kotzebue, a small number of whites control the profit-making activities which includes the best polar bear hunting in the world. Approximately 300 polar bears are taken out of Kotzebue each year by hunters who fly in from the lower 48, bring their own guides and hunt from bush planes which are flown by white pilots employed by white flying services. The polar bear costs them about $2500. Out of that amount only a small part benefits the natives in any way.

In Ft. Yukon (almost entirely Indian) a military radar base is located next to the Yukon community. The base has a superb quarters, excellent recreational facilities, excellent housing, clean water, electricity—all of the things the Ft. Yukon community lacks. Indian girls from the village are invited over to the club at the defense installation for dancing, drinking and other activities. Unwed mothers, or mothers who are wed for a short period of time but are then left behind, are not uncommon.

Bethel, Alaska is very striking—there are actually several compounds!—a large PHS hospital compound, a fish and wildlife facility compound and a FAA facility compound. The BIA, strangely enough, is the farthest removed from the city (5 or 6 miles) but has the most services available to people in Bethel proper. In Bethel, the houses are substandard with poor sanitation, totally inadequate water supply, and general poverty and welfare problems. The ex-mayor of Bethel owns the only water pump, thus exercising a monopoly on the clean water supply. His two trucks deliver water to each house whose residents can purchase it. Many native families get their water from the river and the creek in the worst part of Bethel. In "louse-town" a number of the people are drinking polluted water.

A housing project in Bethel is producing one new house a day under a HUD demonstration project for Alaska. However, as fast as a family moves out of "Louse-Town" or out of bad housing in other parts of Bethel, one or two new families move in immediately behind them and take over the dilapidated shack.

7. EDUCATION

According to census figures of 1960 only a small fraction of one percent of the natives in Alaska had completed 4 years of college or more. (There is one native college graduate in Bethel, pop. 2,000). Only 2% of the native population had completed high school. Over 50% had completed no more than the 6th grade. Approximately 25% of adults had no formal education. In comparison, the median number in 1960 of years of school completed for white Alaskans was 12.4. Additional studies in 1960 indicated that of native youths 14 to 19 years of age, only 34% were enrolled in secondary schools. The remaining 66% were still enrolled in elementary school or were not in school at all.

No one can determine the percentage of school age children who are actually enrolled in school. Elementary schools are found in most but not all villages; many children from areas without a local elementary school go to the BIA elementary school at Wrangell, Alaska. However, where there is no local elementary school, an elementary school education is not assured. A study done at the University of Alaska found losses in BIA schools as high as 60% from grades 1 to 8. Another study recently published by the University of Alaska points out that the native student who has enrolled in college "has survived an attrition rate of 60% in grade school and an additional 54% in high school; he has left 80% or more of his first grade peers behind him as drop-outs. Yet his chances of academic success in college are even more slender than before. He has only one chance in 24 of receiving a college degree at the end of four years."

Grade retardation, or overageness of students in relation to normal age/grade placement is indicative of educational failure. Overage students drop out of school more frequently than those near normal grade placement. In one study of elementary school dropouts in BIA schools, it was found that approximately half had been retarded 5 or more years, and 7% were 9 or more years retarded. Since kindergartens are almost unknown and pre-school education is a new innovation which exists in few areas, six year olds in nearly all schools enter a beginners class; they are 7 before they enter first grade. The need to spend the first year learning the rudiments of the English language automatically places the student at least one year behind at the very beginning of his educational experience. As the need for language comprehension becomes greater in each succeeding grade, the number of years of retardation increase. One study showed 40% of students in native schools to be overage in relation to normal age/grade placement.

There is a longstanding debate as to whether the State of Alaska or the Bureau of Indian Affairs should operate the rural native schools. It is generally understood that the state will gradually assume the responsibility. A report of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the Department of Interior based on a recent visit to Alaska and discussions with many native groups stated the following:

> Some natives prefer BIA schools, but only because the BIA provides hot lunches. Most prefer state schools because of the

> tendency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to set up a school complex as an enclave of modern buildings with all necessary facilities separate and apart from the natives' village—something like the manor of the rich or the compound of a colonial administrator. The BIA seems totally unaware of, or indifferent to, the deep resentment this breeds.

A 1968 stady of graduates and dropouts of Lothrop High School in Fairbanks found that approximately 75% of the native students were dropping out of school before graduation. Native students who attended BIA schools during the majority of their elementary school years received better grades in high school than those from any other classification of school. A student transferring from a state operated rural school had the least chance of graduating and native students receiving the majority of their elementary education in state operated schools had the highest drop-out rate. 75% of the native drop-outs who were tested revealed more than enough intelligence to complete high school.

Although elementary schools have been provided in most villages with a potential enrollment of 10 or more students, these schools typically provide only a beginner's through 8th grade education. Secondary education in rural areas is extremely limited. Of the 86 rural communities, in which the state operated schools in 1966–67, only 10 offered secondary programs. Out of 73 day schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, only 6 offered secondary level education. Most village children who go to a junior or senior high school attend a BIA or state boarding school or participate in the state boarding home project initiated in 1966.

There are two major boarding high school facilities for native students from rural villages. The Bureau of Indian Affairs operates the largest of these facilities in the southeast part of Alaska on an island just off the coast from Sitka. The State runs what was first a vocational boarding school (Beltz) but now is a school with a full academic program just outside of Nome, Alaska. This school in operation since about 1966 serves primarily students from north of the Yukon.

Under the regional high school plan adopted by the State Legislature in 1965 (a bill introduced by Senator Gravel) additional regional high school facilities will be made available in the near future. Due to the lack of progress in implementing the regional high school plan, an interim program called the boarding home program, was initiated by the State in 1966. It was intended to provide students unable to gain admittance to a state or BIA boarding school an opportunity for a high school education in one of Alaska's larger communities. Students live in private homes and attend the local high schools. The cost of boarding is reimbursed under Title I of Public Law 89–10 and the State supports the tuition cost. The state also runs a correspondence and home study course for rural natives which enrolled some students at the high school level in 1966–67.

As a result of the severe lack of high school facilities for native students in Alaska, well over 1,000 students must be sent out of the state to federal boarding schools in Oregon and Oklahoma. Even at that, a substantial number of native students are denied admittance every year, due to lack of space. The number of students that have left the State to receive a high school education has grown from less than 100 in 1960 to over 1,000 in 1968. The number of native students in boarding high schools has nearly tripled since 1960 despite the substantial number of rejected applications.

In 1962, Charles K. Roy, et al., published the most comprehensive study of native education in Alaska that has been undertaken since World War II. The study, *Alaskan Native Secondary School Dropouts*, highlighted a major cause of the extraordinarily high dropout rate of native students:

> * * * self-images of these students were imbued with deep feelings of inadequacy and inferiority. Such a devalued student image was very prevalent, and its existence was confirmed by many teachers. Both teachers and native students noted that one of the important reasons for school dropouts and the lack of motivation to enter high school stemmed from students feelings of inadequacy in dealing with the difficulties of the curriculum. This deep-seated, negative attitude is often transmitted to the student early in his educational career while he is trying to learn strange and often meaningless facts in a language over which he has little command.

Unfortunately, the implications of this finding have had relatively little, if any, impact on the conduct of educational programs in Alaska.

Dr. Arthurs E. Hippler of the University of Alaska pointed out in subcommittee hearings that "the roots of the problem are (historically) very deep and complex. * * *" Starting in the mid-19th century, the impact of aggressive militant Christianity and American cultural imperialism was devastating to native communities. The general result was a "self-hating, confused, and traumatized" native population. In Dr. Hippler's words:

> It is very difficult not to believe that you are not inferior when someone wealthier, better educated, more powerful, and representing immense arbitrary power tells you overtly and covertly by every action of his being that you are inferior *and does so for a hundred years.*

The result of this historical experience is the following:

> (1) Natives wish to be like whites while hating whites for what whites have done to natives;
>
> (2) Natives think poorly of themselves because they have never been able to achieve well in schools which were stacked against them;
>
> (3) Natives become adults with increasingly greater feelings of disillusionment, hopelessness, and inarticulate anger. Eventually, many become social problems because of lack of preparation or ability to work and a self-contempt which may lead to heavy drinking. They produce children for whom they then act as role models.

Although the problem is deep-seated and not easily reversible, much can be done. Dr. Hippler makes three recommendations:

> First and foremost there is a need for better quality and more adequately trained teachers. It is obviously impossible never to make mistakes in hiring which result in racists teaching natives. On the other hand, mistakes need not be the norm.
>
> Secondly, and deeply bound up with the first need is the need to teach Alaska natives something about their history, culture and language (the first two of which most young natives are absolutely ignorant of) to help develop a postive identity and pride in that identity.
>
> Third, again intensely connected to the first two, there is a need to adapt educational materials to the native community and at the same time expand through meaningful education the native child's awareness of the larger rich in experience world which he will inevitably enter.

Dr. Barbara Nachman, in her prepared testimony for the Subcommittee, further substantiates the problem. She points out that "there exists (for native students) a sharp discontinuity between schooling and other meaningful experiences. Teachers are, except for rare exceptions, of a different race and class and speak a different language. Parents and other adults in the community who would ordinarily serve as models for the developing child are rarely teachers; the Subcommittee, the University of Alaska has produced only one, or in any way identified with the body of knowledge which is presented by the schools. To take on that knowledge in any more than a superficial manner means for the child making a break with his home and his past far more acute and irreversible than that which is required of children elsewhere. As a result, school becomes a continuously defensive ordeal to be survived. It is seldom a pleasurable exploration of the world or the development of one's own capacities * * *" The ultimate consequence is the widespread practice of social promotion which ultimately leads to dropping-out and the wide-spread feeling among teachers that native students are mentally retarded.

Dr. Lee H. Salisbury, of the University of Alaska, provides a dramatic description of the actual experience of the native student in the classroom. His description merits quoting at some length:

> The Native student enters a completely foreign setting—the western classroom situation. His teacher is likely to be a Caucasian, who knows little or nothing about his cultural background. He is taught to read the Dick and Jane series. Many things confuse him: Dick and Jane are two gussuk children who play together. Yet, he knows that boys and girls do not play together and do not share toys. They have a dog named Spot who comes indoors and does not work. They have a father who leaves for some mysterious place called "office" each day and never brings any food home with him. He drives a machine called an automobile on a hard covered road called a street which has a policeman on each corner. These policemen always smile, wear funny clothing, and spend their time

> helping children to cross the street. Why do these children need this help? Dick and Jane's mother spends a lot of time in the kitchen cooking a strange food called "cookies" on a stove which has no flame in it.
>
> But the most bewildering part is yet to come. One day they drive out to the country which is a place where Dick and Jane's grandparents are kept. They do not live with the family and they are so glad to see Dick and Jane that one is certain that they have been ostracized from the rest of the family for some terrible reason. The old people live on something called a "farm", which is a place where many strange animals are kept—a peculiar beast called a "cow", some odd looking birds called "chickens" and a "horse" which looks like a deformed moose. And so on. For the next 12 years the process goes on. The native child continues to learn this new language which is of no earthly use to him at home and which seems completely unrelated to the world of sky, birds, snow, ice, and tundra which he sees around him.
>
> In addition, the student is likely to lose his original language in the education process. His teachers do not speak his language nor do they encourage its use during school hours. In many schools students are absolutely forbidden to use the native language. Therefore, many native students come to feel that the language of their parents is undesirable and inferior.

The Subcommittee was amazed to find the Scott-Foresman series of basal readers used in native schools throughout Alaska. Under the leadership of the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, only one relatively modest project is underway to provide a somewhat more relevant basal reader for native children. Equally disturbing is the survey of elementary school social texts conducted for the Subcommittee by the Department of Education of the University of Alaska. The survey findings were:

> 1. Twenty widely used texts contain no mention of Alaska natives at all: and, in some cases, no mention of Alaska. Even some High School texts were found which contained no mention of Alaskan Natives.
> 2. Although some textbooks provide some coverage of the Alaskan Eskimo, very few even mention Indians. Many textbooks confuse Alaskan and other Eskimo groups.
> 3. A substantial number of texts at the elementary and secondary level contain serious and often demeaning inaccuracies in their treatment of the Alaskan Native.

It seems only fitting to close this section with a statement from the testimony of Miss Margaret Nick, an Eskimo girl from the village of Nunapitchuk. With considerable feeling, she informed the Subcommittee—

> Some people say, a man without education might as well be dead. I say, a man without identity, if a man doesn't know who he is, he might as well be dead.

That is why it is a must that we include our culture and history in our schools before we lose it all. We've lost way too much already. *Let's move now!*

8. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND EDUCATION

Major improvement in educational accomplishments will only come with a general improvement in the life of the Alaskan native. The following educational deficiencies are basically results of the Alaskan poverty:

1. Secondary school programs are not available for many native Alaskan students because schools are not available. Native students who want to pursue a high school degree must leave village and family for nine months and attend a boarding school in southeast Alaska, or for over 1,000 Alaskan natives, a boarding school in the States of Oregon or Oklahoma.

2. Native students who finish high school rarely go back to the village. If they do, they find themselves no longer useful, comfortable, or well accepted. Again this situation is a function of poverty in the villages and lack of jobs. Furthermore, native high school graduates who seek jobs in cities lack saleable skills and are not adequately acculturated to succeed socially.

3. The extremely poor academic performance of children in the rural villages is another result of the poverty condition. Children come to school with dietary and physical deficiencies and the powerlessness of the people permits schools that are totally irrelevant to the way of life in the villages.

4. Opportunities for villagers to initiate educational programs of their own are absent because of their complete lack of finances. Yet the schools are foreign institutions. In addition, teachers are inadequately trained, and generally not in sympathy with the circumstances they find themselves in. The school facilities are seldom used on weekends or after classes; they serve no important community function.

9. ALASKA—APPENDIX

A. PRELIMINARY REPORT TO THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDIAN EDUCATION ON MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE ALASKAN NATIVES IN SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTS CURRENTLY IN USE IN THE UNITED STATES INCLUDING ALASKA

(Prepared by the Department of Education, University of Alaska, College, Alaska, March 14, 1969.)

This report is of a preliminary study on the coverage of Alaskan Natives in social study texts used in elementary and high schools throughout the country, including the Alaskan classrooms. The study is far from complete in that it covers only current editions of text which were available through the North Star Borough School District Administration Offices at Fairbanks, Alaska. Several interesting problems arise in the discussion of Alaskan Natives in these texts. These problem areas are summarized below, with specific illustrations of gross misrepresentations in the lists following. A list of texts which were reviewed and in which the representation of the Eskimo was acceptable is also included even though the texts failed to mention even the presence of the Indian population in the state. It was interesting to discover that many elementary social study series did not even include information on the state of Alaska, much less the Natives: such books are also listed on the following pages.

Not only today, but also throughout history, there have been several distinct differences between the Eskimos of Canada and those of Alaska. These differences are rarely brought forward in social studies texts. The Canada Eskimo has historically been more nomadic than the Alaskan. A few Canadian Eskimos even today still live as their ancestors did—travelling hundreds of miles by dog-sled, building snow houses, and tenting in the summer. The vast majority of Canadian Eskimos, however, are now settled in towns and are supplied by train, plane, or ship with their necessities for life. The Alaskan Eskimo, on the other hand, has had very little nomadic history, and today it can be guaranteed that no Alaskan Native builds a snow house or nomadically travels hundreds of miles with his family in search of food. Today's Alaskan Eskimo uses kerosene, oil or electricity for heat and light; he lives in established communities with schools, stores, airstrips, and, in some cases, an electricity generating facility. The villages have regular mail service and have radios, whereby they maintain contact with other villages and cities. All native children have access to schools of one type or another, either in the villages or in central locations. Hunting and fishing are still an important occupation of many Natives; however, most Natives get their food and supplies through stores which are supplied by airfreight or ship. Many Natives are employed in Defense jobs, oil, mining, and fishing operations. While realistic for a very small minority of people living in another country, stories of the Eskimo traveling for miles hunting seals and caribou, building snow houses and tents, and such activities are highly misleading when application of the story to the Alaskan Native is implied. This is probably the most serious problem in the presentation of the Alaskan Native. In reading these stories, one is often led to believe that due to ardous travels the Eskimos do not stop long enough to educate their children, to learn about the existence of electricity, to communicate with the outside world, or for that matter, to even know of another world. Stories of this kind are highly prejudicial against the Alaskan Eskimo of today. While such tales may have had some validity for Eskimos of past generations, they are commonly used today in texts with no accompanying explanation of the fact that these modes of living are now long gone, only to be found in museums. This problem of confusing history with the present, and confusing Canadian modes with Alaskan modes so far only includes consideration of Alaska's Eskimos, a fact which leads to another basic problem in coverage of the Alaskan Native in social study texts.

This problem in the treatment of the Alaskan Native is that in only one or two of all the texts reviewed was there even mention of the Indians. Alaska's native population is made up of both Eskimos and Indians. While there is a geographic difference in the distribution of these two cultures in the state, there is very little morphological difference in the people, and their communities often have very similar characteristics. While some of the texts give very good treatment of the Eskimo they are almost universally discriminatory in that they do not even mention the Indian who has played a very important role in the settling of Interior and Southern Alaska. While on the surface little difference can be seen between these two Alaska native groups, their cultural modes are certainly different enough to bear separate coverage in texts. The fact that all native Alaskans are called Eskimo is highly insulting to the Alaskan Indian who has a well deserved pride in his distinct culture.

It must be stressed that this report represents only a cursory survey of curriculum materials on hand. The misrepresentations and discriminatory statements are in some cases so gross that the background, or reference material, may also be suspected. No research has been done to date on coverage of Alaskan Natives in common reference material. Another area which is known to be heavily loaded with discriminatory material is the children's literature on the Eskimo: as is the case with the reference material, no formal search has been made in this area. Although the scope of this report is limited for the present to include only the latest editions of texts in use, mention must be made of the fact that many schools are still using older editions of social studies texts which in many cases contain even grosser discriminatory passages against the Alaskan Natives.

The following list of books are current elementary school social study readers in which there is no mention of Alaska Natives at all; and, in some cases, no mention of the state of Alaska. Although there are some high school texts which also neglect to mention Alaska Natives, they are not included in the list.

Burnette, O. Lawrence, Lettie Lee Ralph and T. J. Durell. *Basic Social Studies*. New York: Harper & Row, 1964. Grade 5.
No mention of Alaska Natives.

Cutright, Prudence, John Jarolimek and Mae Knight Clark. *Living in America Today and Yesterday*. New York: MacMillan, 1966.
No mention of Alaska Natives.

Dedrick, Nelle, Josephine Tiegs and Fay Adams. *Your People and Mine*. Boston: Ginn, 1965.
No mention of Alaska.

Goetz, Delia. *At Home in Our Land*. Boston: Ginn, 1965.
No mention of Alaska.

Hagaman, Adaline P. and Thomas J. Durell. *Basic Social Studies*. New York: Harper Rowe, 1964, Grade 4.
No mention of Alaska.

Hagaman, Adaline P. and Thomas J. Durell. *World Cultures Past and Present*. New York: Harper Rowe, 1965.
No mention of Alaska Natives.

Hanna, Paul R., Clyde F. Kohn and Robert A. Lively. *In All Our State*. Chicago: Scott Foresmon and Company, 1965.
No mention of Alaska Natives.

Hunnicut, C. W. and Jean D. Grombs. *We Look Around Us*. Chicago: L. W. Singer Company, 1963.
No mention of Alaska Natives.

Jarolimek, John and Elizabeth B. Carey. *Living in Places Near and Far*. New York: Macmillan, 1966.

No mention of Alaska Natives.

King, Frederic M., Bracken and Sloan. *Regions and Social Needs*. River Forest, Illinois: Laidlaw Brothers, Inc., 1968. Grade 3.

No mention of Alaska Natives.

Lally, Laura, Ernest W. Tiegs and Fay Adams. *Your Neighborhood and the World*. Boston: Ginn, 1966.

Does not even include a map of Alaska in map of our country.

McClellan, Jack, Grace Dawson, Ernest W. Tiegs and Fay Adams. *Your World and Mine*. Boston: Ginn, 1965.

No mention of Alaska Natives.

McGuire, Edna. *The Story of American Freedom*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.

No mention of Alaska Natives.

Pierce, Mary Lusk and Euphrosyne Georgas. *The Community Where You Live*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965.

No mention of Alaska.

Preston, Ralph C. and Eleanor Clymer. *Communities at Work*. Boston, D.C.: Heath, 1964.

No mention of Alaska Natives.

Preston, Ralph C. and John Tottle, *In These United States and Canada*. Boston, D.C.: Heath, 1965.

Only mention of Eskimos is Canadian.

No mention of Alaska Natives in chapter on Alaska.

Wann, Kenneth D., Emma D. Sheehy and Bernard Spodek. *Learning About Our Families*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967. Grade 1.

No mention of Alaska.

Wann, Kenneth D., Jane D. Vreeland and Marguerite A. Conklin. *Learning About Our Country*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967. Grade 3.

No mention of Alaska except one reference as to size.

Wann, Kenneth D., Frances C. Wann and Emma D. Sheehy. *Learning About Our Neighbors*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967. Grade 2.

No mention of Alaska.

Wann, Kenneth D., Henry J. Warmon and James K. Confield. *Man and His Changing Culture*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1960.

No mention of Alaska.

The following list of books includes elementary and high school social study texts in which the materials on Alaskan Eskimos is acceptable (only a few mention Indians):

Elementary

Brown, Gertrude S., Josephine Tiegs, and Fay Adams. *Your Country and Mine*. Boston: Ginn, 1965.

Carls, Norman, Philip Bacon, and Frank E. Sorenson. *Knowing Your Neighbors in the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Carls, Norman, Phillip Bacon, and Frank E. Sorenson. *Knowing Our Neighbors in U.S. and Canada*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Coons, Frederica and John Prater. *Trains to Freedom in American History.* Boston: Ginn, 1967.

Cooper, Kenneth S., Clarence W. Sorensen, and Paul Todd Lewis. *The Changing New World.* Morristown, N.J.: Silver Burdett and Company, 1967.

Cooper, Kenneth S., Clarence W. Sorensen, and Paul Todd Lewis. *Learning to Look at Our World.* Morristown, N.J.: Silver Burdett and Company, 1967.

Crabtree, Ester, Josephine Tiegs, and Fay Adams. *Understanding Your Country and Mine.* Boston: Ginn, 1965.

Cutright, Prudence and John Jarolimek. *Living in Our Country and Other Lands.* N.Y.: Macmillan, 1966.

Drummond, Harold D. and Fred A. Sloan. *A Journey Through Many Lands.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1964.

Drummond, Harold D. and Fred A. Sloan. *Journeys Through the Americas.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1964.

Drummond, Harold D., and Fred A. Sloan. *The Western Hemisphere.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966.

Gross, Herbert, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E. Gobler, William L. Burton, and Ben F. Ahschwede. *Exploring Regions of the Western Hemisphere.* Chicago: Follett, 1966.

Hanna, Paul R., Helen F. Wise, and Livey Kohn. *In the Americas.* Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1965.

King, Frederick M., Dorothy K. Bracken, and Margaret A. Sloan. *Communities and Social Needs.* River Forest, Illinois: Laidlaw Brothers, 1968.

Polansky, Lucy, Kenneth D. Wann, and Henry J. Warman. *The Changing Earth and Its Peoples.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

Rickard, John A. *Discovering American History.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965.

Townsend, Herbert. *Our America.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1961.

Wann, Kenneth D., Edith Stull, and Henry J. Warman. *Our Changing Nation and Its Neighbors.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

Whittemore, Katheryne T. and Melvin Svec. *The United States and Canada.* Boston: Ginn, 1966.

High School

Anderson, Vivienne, and Laura M. Shufelt, *Your America.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1967.

Casner, Mabel B. and Ralph H. Gabriel. *Story of the American Nation.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.

Cutright, Prudence and John Jarolimek. *Living as World Neighbors.* New York: Macmillan, 1966.

Holt, Sol. *World Geography and You.* Princeton, N.J.: Von Norstrand Co., 1964.

Koller, Marvin R., and Harold C. Couse. *Modern Sociology.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Resnick, Mariam R. and Lillian H. Nerenberg. *American Government in Action.* Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1969.

Smith, Harriet Fuller, Ernest W. Tiegs, and Fay Adams. *Your Life as a Citizen.* Boston: Ginn, 1967.

Van Cleef, Eugene, and John C. Finney. *Global Geography.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966.

The following is a list of texts in which are contained passages which either make a false statement about Alaskan Natives, or which by implication give a false representation of these people.

Elementary

Carls, Norman, Elaine M. Templin and Frank E. Sorenson. *Knowing Our Neighbors Around the Earth.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

The only reference to Eskimos in the entire book occurs after mention of the diet of Asiatics: "Eskimos also eat seaweed," p. 94. This is true of such a small minority of Eskimos that it is hardly worth mentioning, especially when it is the only reference to these people.

Clark, Thomas D., Roy Compton and Amber Wilson. *America's Frontier.* Chicago: Lyons and Carnahan, 1965.

In this text there is only a brief reference to the Eskimos as Alaska's natives; they also mention that "The Eskimo will not starve so long as there are reindeer," p. 385. This statement puts the Eskimos on a very simple-minded status as compared with the common American Middle Class status. The situation of adequate food supply for the natives is far more complex than merely having enough reindeer. Granted that many Eskimos raise reindeer for the meat market where they realize sufficient income to purchase their food supplies. No Eskimo, however well adapted, though, can avoid starvation by eating reindeer meat alone.

Cutright, Prudence and John Jarolimek. *Living in the Americas.* New York: Macmillan, 1966.

"Hunting is especially important to the Eskimos living in the tundra region of Alaska. They depend on the walrus, seal, whale, Arctic fox and other wild animals. To the Eskimos these animals mean food, clothing and shelter." p. 395. Again one sees a highly simplified picture of the Alaskan Native.

Hamer, O. Stuart, Dwight W. Follett, Ben Ahlschwede and Herbert H. Gross. *Exploring Our Country.* Chicago: Follett, 1962.

"At the Eskimo village everyone rushes to greet us. We tell the American schoolteacher and his wife that we have come to see how the Eskimos live. The first Eskimo home we visit is a skin tent. This is a summer house. * * * Inside the house is a seal oil lamp used for light and heat and cooking." p. 364. This is probably the worst case of discrimination against the Eskimos encountered. Why do the authors differentiate between the *American schoolteacher* and the Eskimos; are not the Eskimos also Americans? This story is supposed to have taken place at Point Barrow, Alaska. In this large, hustling town, Natives are more likely to cook on conventional stoves. Despite a later insinuation in the text, these people know of electricity, telephones and normal canned and dried foodstuffs. They buy a great many of their clothes and household items through mailorder houses. They do not depend entirely on whales, walruses and seals as the authors would have the reader believe.

Isreal, Saul, Norma H. Roemer and Loyal Durand, Jr. *World Geography Today.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966.

"For the most part, the Eskimos of the North American tundra make a scant living by fishing, trapping and hunting." pp. 498-499.

Patterson, Franklin, Jessamy Patterson, C. W. Hunnicut, Jean D. Grambs and James A. Smith. *Man Changes His World.* Chicago: L. W. Singer, 1963.

This text includes two stories about Eskimos. Both of these stories have illustrations accompanying the text in which the Eskimos are building snow igloos in the winter and tents in the summer. The stories follow a sequence on cave men, in which the cave men were dressed in shaggy skins and chasing animals over the snow with spears. The pictures of the Eskimos show men dressed in furs with similar spears chasing seals and caribou. The fact that at the end of the story there is a picture of a modern Eskimo classroom hardly compensates for the misrepresentation of Eskimos in the stories.

A quip about the clever Eskimos of today who can take apart an outboard motor also falls short of demonstrating the depth of understanding and adaptation now occurring in the villages and cities among the Native population.

Preston, Ralph C., Caroline Emerson, P. E. Schrader and A. F. Schrader. *Four Lands, Four Peoples.* Boston: D. C. Health, Inc., 1966.

In the only mention of people in the Arctic the text says: "Eskimos and other wandering peoples can live in the Arctic by hunting and fishing." p. 31.

Senesh, Lawrence. *Our Working World.* Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1964.

See Appendix.

Thralls, Zoe A., Edward L. Biller and William Hartley. *The World Around Us.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965.

In this beautifully illustrated text pictures of Canadian Eskimos in tents and snow houses are shown as examples of Alaskan Eskimos. "Some Eskimos winter in sod huts; others build igloos of snow and ice." p. 21.

Townsend, Herbert. *Our Wonderful World.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1963.

"People (Eskimo) dress in furs and hunt seal, walrus and polar bear for food and clothing. Some live in huts made of earth and skins, but others build homes of frozen snow, called igloos. When the Eskimo wants to travel, he harnesses up his sled dogs, called huskies." p. 146.

High School

Bollens, John C. *Communities and Government in a Changing World.* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

"Many Eskimos of Alaska maintain a way of life not too different from that of generations of Eskimos that lived before them." p. 158.

Bradley, John Hodgdon. *World Geography.* Boston: Ginn, 1968.

"The primitive Eskimo eats fish and seal meat not because he is too stupid or too lazy to raise corn and cows, and not necessarily because he prefers wild to cultivated food. He eats fish and seal meat because his physical environment will not provide enough hay for cows and heat for corn." p. 37. Although the author qualifies his statement about the Eskimos, the insinuation is still there, by mere mention of the words stupid and lazy. The author implies that Eskimos do other things because of stupidity and laziness. The use of the word "primitive" to modify Eskimo is unforgivable in this context.

Caughey, John W., John Hope Franklin and Ernest R. May. *Land of the Free.* New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1967.

"The hunting people of the Alaskan interior (Indians) are not particularly notable, but the Eskimo along the coast had made remarkable adjustment to a forbidding climate." p. 44.

"In a few remote places the Indians still possess the land and maintain the old way of life, as do the Eskimos." p. 49.

Cole, William E., and Charles S. Montgomery. *High School Sociology.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

"Primitive Eskimos in Asia and North America had only themselves and their environment from which to make their living and from which to fashion a culture. Consequently they built their houses of blocks of snow and ice and skins. They subsisted largely upon sea animals, and used the fat, or 'blubber' of these animals for light and heat. Today they may have radios and cigarette lighters." p. 201.

Kolevzon, Edward R., and John A. Heine. *Our World and Its Peoples.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1967.

There is no differentiation between Canadian and Alaskan Eskimos. "Sometimes domeshaped igloos are built from blocks of hard-packed snow." p. 74.

Packard, Leonard O., Bruce Overton and Ben D. Wood. *Geography of the World.* New York: Macmillan, 1959.

"Primitive peoples take from the earth what happens to be found in the regions in which they live. The Eskimos and the Lapps obtain all the necessities of their simple lives from the animals of the locality. To this they may add a crude shelter of stones or skins or blocks of snow." p. 58.

Sorenson, Clarence W. *A World View.* Morristown, N.J.: Silver Burdett, 1964.

"And the simple stone or snow houses of the Eskimo are heated and lighted by burning seal fat." p. 49.

B. WHY CARIBOU ESKIMO FAMILIES LIVE AS THEY DO*

In the far, far north, almost at the North Pole, it is very cold nearly all year round. In the winter the land is covered with deep snow. It is so deep that men and animals can hardly travel across it. The lakes and ocean are covered with ice, and it is very hard to catch fish. Most of the time the wind blows hard across the great open spaces. There are no trees to slow down the wind. In the winter the sun shines for only one hour each day. There is only darkness and cold. The summer is very short. But then there is sunshine all day long. A few plants poke through the snow at that time of year. But most of the time it is cold and dark, and there is little food to be found.

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* Lawrence Senesh, *Our Working World,* (Chicago: S.R.A., 1964).

The people who live in this cold land are called Eskimos. The Eskimos cannot grow fruit and vegetables, because it is too cold. They cannot keep animals for food, because it is too hard to grow food for the animals. So they have to hunt or fish for all their food. In the winter the Eskimos who live near water hunt seals. An Eskimo man lies quietly next to a certain kind of hole in the ice. When a seal pokes its head through the hole to breathe, the Eskimo stabs a harpoon into it to kill it. From the seal the Eskimos get food and blubber. The blubber is the fat of the seal and is burned for light and heat. In the summer the seals swim far out to sea. Then the Eskimos have to hunt animals that live on land. The animal that they hunt mostly is the caribou. The caribou is a kind of reindeer. It is hunted with bows, arrows, spears, and guns. Because Eskimos have to hunt for their food, they have to travel a long way over great snowfields. They have to know how to tell what the weather will be. And they have to know how to make tools that will help them in a land of ice and snow.

Because Eskimos have to travel so much, they live in houses that can be made quickly. In the winter they make igloos of blocks of snow. An Eskimo can make an igloo big enough for his whole family in only a few hours. In the summers the Eskimos often live in tents that are made from the skin of the caribou. When they move in the summer, they take their tents with them. When they move in the winter they leave their igloos and build new ones when they need them.

The clothes that the Eskimos wear are also made from caribou skins. This clothing protects them from the water and the cold. Eskimos wear a lot of heavy clothing. Their clothing is carefully made and is decorated with beads and bright colors.

Some Eskimos spend part of their time trapping foxes. The fox skins are cleaned and stretched on a board until they are dry. Then the Eskimos take the skins to a trading post. There they trade the skins for tea, flour, sugar, salt, and guns. The skins are the only things that the Eskimos can trade, because they do not have the time to make anything for trading. Hunting for food takes almost all the Eskimos' time.

When the Eskimos want to have a good time, they play games, tell stories, sing songs, and make carvings. These carvings are very beautiful, but they are not very fancy. Eskimos have fun in simple ways. Because they must work so hard just to get food, to make clothing, and to build igloos, they have no time to spend on making other things that they might enjoy.

In the summer it is easier to find food, and a few Eskimo families live together. But as it gets colder, food becomes harder to find, and each family goes off to live by itself while hunting. So the Eskimo children may not see children from other Eskimo families for a long time.

C. A Comprehensive Study of One Reservation Community, Fort Hall, Idaho

1. EXPLANATORY NOTE

The Subcommittee discovered early in its investigations that a strict treatment of education alone would be virtually impossible. The problems of Indian education are inextricably bound up with economic, political, and social problems confronting the Indian individual and the Indian community in America. To attempt to completely unravel the education thread could only have produced half-understandings and half-truths. Thus, historical and legislative information, information about employment, housing, living conditions, mental health, and other areas have been included throughout this Report wherever such information helped to define the educational situation or to place it in its appropriate context.

The following report of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation in Idaho differs from this pattern. Its intent is to provide a *comprehensive* study of one reservation which includes an examination of the education of its children. Therefore, the report treats legislative and other history, resource development, and current conditions at some length, as well as presenting descriptive and performance data about elementary and secondary education. It is hoped that this case study will be useful not just as an intensive, unique view but also as a background against which the other field reports will assume greater meaning.

2. ITINERARY AND OBJECTIVES OF SUBCOMMITTEE VISITS TO FORT HALL

Two visits were made to the Fort Hall Reservation by the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education; first in January, then in December of 1968. Both were fact-finding tours to investigate the nature of the educational program afforded Fort Hall's elementary and secondary students enrolled in the public schools of communities surrounding the Fort Hall Reservation.

Senators Robert Kennedy of New York and Frank Church of Idaho accompanied by Subcommittee Staff members, Adrian L. Parmeter and John Gray first visited the Fort Hall reservation on January 2, 1968. Arriving at the Indian Reservation on the morning of January 2nd, they were met by Mr. Kesley Edmo, a member of the Fort Hall Business Council. Visits were made to Fort Hall Health Clinic under the supervision of Dr. Stevens and to the Education Department of the Agency under the supervision of Mr. William Rifenberry. The rest of the morning was spent visiting the public schools.

The tour began with Fort Hall Elementary School (Lloyd Broadhead, Principal). Mr. I. T. Stoddard, Superintendent of District 55, Blackfoot, Idaho, accompanied the Senators and staff on this visit.

Next, West Center Elementary School, Blackfoot, Idaho (Mr. Donald Stalker, Principal), where a 6th grade and a 2nd grade class were observed. The Blackfoot Junior High School followed (Mr. Vaughn Hugie, Principal) and classrooms were again observed. Finally, the Blackfoot Senior High School (Mr. Carl Ferrin, Principal) was visited. The Senators dined with students in the Blackfoot Senior High School and with twelve Upward Bound students sponsored by Idaho State University and VISTA volunteers, then returned to Fort Hall Reservation visiting Indian homes en route. A meeting was held with officials of the Tribal Business Council and with committee members concerned with the education of Indian children and a news conference was held at the Fort Hall Elementary School.

The second trip to Fort Hall by Subcommittee Staff was made from December 3rd to December 15, 1968. The specific objective was to gather data on educational performance and socio-economic conditions.

Arriving in Pocatello, Idaho, on December 3rd a meeting was held with the President of Idaho State University, Dr. William E. Davis who reiterated the interest of the University in Fort Hall Reservation and outlined ideas regarding the role of the University vis-a-vis the Indian people at Fort Hall. The staff next met with the Upward Bound tutor counselors who had volunteered to serve as research assistants while the Subcommittee was making its investigation at Fort Hall. A meeting with Dr. Joseph Hearst, the Dean of Liberal Arts of ISU followed. Subsequently, visits were made to the three public school districts near the reservation that accept Indian students, and interviews were conducted with school and agency personnel and with Indian parents and children.

Visits were made to and interviews held with:

—The Superintendents of the three school districts enrolling Fort Hall students;
—Hawthorne Junior High School and Highland Senior High School in the Pocatello District;
—Blackfoot Junior High School and Blackfoot Senior High Schools in the Blackfoot School District;
—All schools in the American Falls School District;
—Guidance counselors and principals of schools visited;
—Fort Hall Agency personnel (BIA): Superintendent, Director of the Community Services Branch, the Realty Officer and a Water Resources Specialist;
—Tribal Business Council Committee Chairman;
—Tribal Councilmen;
—Indian parents;
—Civil leaders: e.g., police chiefs, editors of newspapers of surrounding towns;
—The personnel director of Simplot Corporation (to discuss hiring policies for Indians);
—The deans of departments at Idaho State University (to discuss programs for Fort Hall Indians).

3. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

A. LOCATION

The Fort Hall Indian Reservation is located in southeastern Idaho between the cities of Pocatello (major rail junction), Blackfoot, and American Falls. The reservation itself contains approximately 523,000 acres, primarily farm and grazing land of high potential value.

Fort Hall is the largest Indian community in Idaho, with parts of it located in Bingham, Bannock, and Power Counties. Part of the reservation area is allotted or individually owned and part is held in tribal ownership.

B. POPULATION

The Agency estimates total resident Indian population of 2,870 (male—1,366 and female—1,504). As compared with the age structure of the Nation, that of Fort Hall shows large proportions of the population below 20 years of age; a smaller proportion in the productive period of life (20 to 50 years—44%); and a smaller proportion of older people (6% over 65). This high percentage of children and youth in the population would seem to place greater financial burdens upon Fort Hall families for food, clothing, education, and other expenses related to the rearing of children.

C. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

The average educational level for the on-reservation adult Indian in the fall of 1967 shows that the female Indian has a higher average level (8.6) than the male (7.3).

D. HEALTH AND HOUSING

The over-all death rate at Fort Hall is not only above the national average, but above that for the Indian population throughout the United States. Fort Hall death rates are significantly higher than national rates especially with respect to the causes of death: influenza, pneumonia, homicide, accidents, tuberculosis, suicide, dysentery, and measles.

Dr. Joseph Hearst of Idaho State University in an unpublished study found in 1958 that 70% of the homes consisted of log cabins, almost all of which were one room; 20% of two-room structures; and only 10% of more than 2 rooms. The agency welfare officer estimates that over 50% of all reservation housing facilities are unfit for human habitation. In half of the Indian homes sanitary facilities such as privies and safe drinking water are non-existent. These families habitually take their water from such sources as irrigation ditches.

Dr. Norman Nybroten, in an extensive study of Fort Hall completed in 1964, found that in the least crowded homes the principal male and female had more education, represented a higher economic status, and were less likely to need public assistance or to have a crime or delinquency record than families in the most crowded households. He found in his sample of reservation homes an average of more than two people per room, which was 2.8 times the average room occupancy throughout the state. In his sample each of the 6 most crowded households contained 1 room in which 8 to 10 people cooked, ate, and slept!

Some Indians rent shacks and cabins which in the Subcommittee's findings rent at approximately $45 per month. On top of the basic rent the Indian family must pay electricity. In one case the bill for a two-room shack was over $9. There were no electric heaters and the $9 paid only for lights. Hearst points out that the owners of such places cater almost exclusively to families and individuals receiving public assistance; since the rent is included in the public assistance grant, there are no difficulties involved in collection.

Since Dr. Nybroten's report in 1964 the agency has conducted a housing improvement program that built 60 new homes on the reservation over a four year period from 1964–67. However, the conditions he described are all too evident in the box-car and tiny two-room cabin homes which the Subcommittee staff visited.

Moreover, the momentum begun in the Housing Improvement Program has been dampened by the budgetary constraints on the successor to that program. The 10 Self-Help Housing Program houses that were appoved by the Bureau in November have been detoured. This may have negative effects on those Indians who are contributing their labor under the sweat-equity agreement that characterizes the Self-Help Housing Program.

Telephone service to the Reservation has been barely adequate and should be improved. One of the notable deficiencies is the absence of a telephone in most homes on the Reservation. At one time there was a government telephone service which connected the Agency and various schools. The service was of great help in getting the word to people in various districts. Under the present policy of non-competition with private industry, the telephone system is used only in the operation of the irrigation project. The capacity of the present lines is so limited that it is impossible to add an adequate number of installations. In our discussions with families who did not have telephone service, they pointed to the fact that they could get service if they were willing to pay the installation costs. The cost of installation for one family—it was six families removed from the telephone service—would be approximately $22,000. In effect, telephone service is impossible for families who are more than one or two households removed from the trunk line.

4. Historical Background

A. GENERAL HISTORY

> Two great revolutions have affected the Shoshone and Bannock Indians of Southeastern Idaho since the seventeenth century: the acquisition of the horse and the arrival of the emigrants and settlers. Both revolutions had a tremendous impact on aboriginal life and culture; one for the better, one for the worse. Whereas the horse carried these Indians to the zenith of their culture, giving them wealth, prestige, and a contented, almost care-free, existence, the emigrants and settlers destroyed their independence, their buffalo, their root areas, and threatened their very existence.[1]

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[1] Mont E. Faulkner, *Emigrant-Indian Confrontation in Southeastern Idaho, 1841–1863.*

A small herd of horses still winters in the naturally irrigated meadows of the Fort Hall bottoms, but the settlers now surround the reservation in the communities of Blackfoot and Pocatello.

Between 1841 and 1863 the stage was set for emigrant-Indian confrontations that culminated in the Slaughter of Bear River where 400 Shoshone and Bannocks (two-thirds were women and children) were killed by the California Volunteers. In 1841 the Oregon Trail was opened. It went right through the homeland of the Shoshone and Bannock Indians. The major emigrant routes followed the river valleys which were the Indians main subsistence areas and the Shoshone and Bannock requested reimbursement from the emigrant trains. Failing reimbursement for the traffic across their land, the Indians resorted to raiding the trains beginning in 1860.

Their homeland also faced encroachment from Mormons coming north from Utah to farm the river valleys.

Mont Faulkner, the secretary of the Tribal Council, in an article in *Rendezvous* comments on the attitude of the emigrants toward the Shoshone-Bannock as it was reflected in the Bear River Slaughter incident:

> "During the winter of 1862–63, a large number of Shoshone and Bannock gathered on the Bear River near Franklin, Idaho. The Indians insisted that the Mormon settlers provide them with food. They saw nothing wrong or unusual in demanding that the intruders pay for their detestable use of Indian hunting lands. But as the demands became more insistent, the Mormons became frightened. A messenger was sent to Colonel Conner at Salt Lake. He gathered his forces and marched, arriving at Franklin on January 27, 1863. In the fighting that followed, Conner reported that 224 Indians were killed, mostly men. However, William Hull, one of the Mormons sent to the battlefield the next day, commented upon the scene in a different light: "Never will I forget the scene—dead bodies everywhere. I counted eight deep in one place * * * all in all we counted nearly four hundred; two-thirds of this number being women and children."

The slaughter at Bear River convinced the Shoshone and Bannock that they must submit to the dictates of Conner and the army, or face a superior force of whites in a war of extermination. Writing a short time after the victory at Bear River, for which exploit Conner was promoted to the rank of General, Lieutenant Colonel Maury indicates that the Indians got the intended message: "No doubt the punishment inflicted by General Conner and the disposition of citizens with whom they have come in contact, have satisfied them that any other policy than their present would lead to extermination."

The general attitude of the emigrants and settlers of the 1860's left no doubt that the Indians had little to hope for in the future. This attitude is well expressed by an editorial in the Boise, Idaho Statesman for October 6, 1867:

> We are of that class of philanthropists who do not believe in waging a war of extermination against the Indians. We rather incline to the more Christian-like mode of making

> treaties for the establishment of peaceful relations with them. This would be our plan of establishing friendship upon an eternal basis with our Indians: Let all the hostile bands of Idaho Territory be called in (they will not be caught in any other manner) to attend a grand treaty; plenty of blankets and nice little trinkets distributed among them; plenty of grub on hand; have a real jolly time with them; then just before the big feast put strychnine in their meat and poison to death the last mother's son of them.

This final solution to the Indian problem was not original with the editorial writer of the Idaho Statesman. It was evidently a traditional (if not conventional) sort of grisly in-joke expressing the emigrant desire to clean up the mess once and for all. Randolph B. Marcy, writing eight years earlier offers much the same proposal in the words of a frontier friend of his:

> I'd invite um all to a big feast, and mak b'lieve I wanted to have a big talk, and as soon as I got um all together, I'd pitch in and a sculp about half of um and then t'other half would be mightly glad to make a peace that would stick.

The only differences between this proposal and that of the Idaho Statesman are in the forms of humor (Marcy's dialect variety versus the Boise editorialist's irony), the methods and the thoroughness of the job.

On July 4, 1868, the formal treaty with the Bannock and Northern Shoshone was signed establishing a reservation of 1.8 million acres. The first article promised protection from personal and property depredation by whites upon Indians, thus saving the Indian's scalp. (The price for an Indian scalp at that time was $25 to $100.) However, another article in the treaty provided for cession of land by a majority vote. One hundred years later the Indians had less than one-third of the orginal reservation left in their ownership (523,000 acres).

The largest single reduction was in 1900 when 416,000 acres were ceded to the Federal Government for $525,000. Other lands went for a United States Air Force Base during World War II, which later became the Pocatello Municipal Airport.

Dr. Joseph Hearst, in an unpublished manuscript, prepared for the Indian Affairs Subcommittee in the late fifties, has pointed out that the Bureau of Indian Affairs was not responsive to the tribe's request for funds from the tribal loan fund to redeem their land. He states:

"We asked him (Glenn Emmons, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs) to use the authority provided in the Indian Reorganization Act to buy land for Indians. Mr. Emmons wrote on September 19, 1957:

> Monies have not been made available by Congress for a number of years for the purchase of land under the Indian Reorganization Act. The small balance which remains in the fund is reserved for exceptional emergencies. It would not be sufficient to embark on any extensive land purchase program at Fort Hall or any other reservation.

All of this may be true, although the words "extensive land purchase" are Mr. Emmons' not the tribe's. Congress ignored this authorization. Neither under Mr. Emmons nor his predecessor Mr. Myer, did the Bureau of Indian Affairs ask Congress for one dollar under this authority. Evidently the Commissioner was opposed to the use of the authority he had, and assumed that the Congress was likewise opposed, for in the same letter he said that he regarded it as not likely that gratuity funds will be made available by Congress for such purposes.

The tribe and the Bureau were deadlocked on another aspect of this problem. The Bureau had a revolving loan fund under its control which in the late fifties totaled about $15,000,000.

The Tribal Council at that time saw a report which indicated that more than one-half the fund was in cash and idle. It seemed apparent that the Bureau was trying to make it difficult for Indians to borrow from that fund. The Bureau rejected that interpretation and said instead that it was merely trying to teach the Indian ordinary business and banking procedures. However that may be, the Business Council asked for a loan to purchase land. The record shows that the Bureau made similar loans in several similar cases—to be sure not as much as the Shoshone-Bannocks needed—but nevertheless it made loans. The then Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Lee, was present at a special council meeting at Fort Hall on November 2 and 5, 1956. Referring to the request for a loan to buy land, Mr. Lee said, "We could not give them the money because we do not have that money to lend." The Tribe believes what he should have said is that the Bureau had the money, but did not want to lend it for that purpose. It may impress Congress when the Commissioner reports that he has no use for the money from the loan fund, but it seems doubtful if Congress would be pleased by the steady decline which has characterized the Fort Hall economy over the last seven years.

In this period the Tribe used its own income to buy important tracts. In his letter of September 19th, Mr. Emmons, after noting that the tribal funds were relatively limited, wrote: "We hope that they may prove adequate, however, for the purchase of key tracts. They would obviously not be sufficient in extent to permit the tribe to engage in a large-scale purchase program." Mr. Emmons concludes his letter on this note: "Again let me assure you of our understanding of your point of view and of our regret that we are unable to comply with your request." The Tribe believes Mr. Emmons should have said "unwilling" instead of "unable" since the facts gainsay his statements.

As of 1968 the Tribes spent approximately $100,000 a year on land purchases in an attempt to maintain the integrity of the Reservation. It is not enough. Recently, the Tribes have been found to use indirect pressures on their members in order to prevent more Reservation land from being alienated.

Land ownership on Fort Hall, 1968

	Acres
Tribal ownership	214, 813. 41
Individual ownership	267, 252. 56
Government ownership	41, 342. 80
Total	523, 408. 73

Under authority of the Indian Reorganization Act of June, 1934, the Shoshone-Bannock tribes on March 31, 1936, adopted a Constitution and by-laws. On April 17, 1937, the tribes formally adopted a charter and became a corporate body. The central agency of the Tribes is the Fort Hall Business Council, whose 7 members are elected by the people with a secret ballot, and who serve 2 year terms. Under the jurisdiction of the Business Council is the Tribal Court, which handles all offenses committed by Indians aside from major crimes. The Indian Court operates under a law-and-order code adopted by the Tribes.

B. LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

The substantive legislation relating to the Fort Hall Reservation reveals a typical pattern of consolidation, expropriation, and exploitation of Indian tribes by the Federal government. Appropriations for Fort Hall reveal a trend of paternalism, and neglect.

From 1862 through 1874 the Congress passed acts aimed at consolidating the Idaho Indians on reservations. On July 3, 1868, the treaty between the United States of America and the eastern band of Shoshones and the Bannock Tribe of Indians was concluded. A few years later other bands of Shoshone and Bannock were moved from Wyoming to the Fort Hall Reservation, according to acts of 1872 and 1874.

The period of expropriation extends from 1888 through 1924. In 1888 the government took land for a town site and right-of-way for the Utah and Northern Railroad Company for which it agreed to pay $6,000 in 20 installments. The amount of land was not sizeable but the act established the precedent of the government retaking public land that it had agreed in its treaty of 1868 to give to the Indians. 1898, the United States again took land from the reservation for homesteaders, paying the Indians $600,000.

By a Presidential proclamation in 1902, Theodore Roosevelt opened ceded lands for non-Indian settlement. In 1907 an act was passed authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to acquire land for construction of an irrigation system. In 1924 another act authorized the acquisition of Indianlands of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation for reservoir purposes in connection with the Mendoca or American Falls irrigation project. Much of the valuable bottom lands—the traditional tribal lands of the Indians—were flooded and land was taken in condemnation procedures.

As noted earlier, a review of the appropriation legislation relating to Fort Hall reveals paternalism, dependency creation, and termination of Federal services. Between 1870 and 1900, $300,000 was made available in fulfillment of treaty obligation. First observed in the 1888 appropriation bill, a traditional appropriation item "for the support, civilization, and instruction of Indians" amounted to $17,000; between 1888 and 1925 the Federal government appropriated approximately $912,000 for Fort Hall Indians under this item. After 1925 however, Indian trust funds were used for costs, including education costs, which the Government had previously borne.

Payments by the government rose from $17,000 in 1888 to $35,000 in 1901. By 1925, they were down to $15,000. Funds derived from the trust fund, approximately $25,000 remained at that level from 1928 to 1931 when they rose to $37,000 ($10,000 of that amount was for weed eradication.) After 1933 one finds a sudden drop in monies for general support of Indians and administration of Indian property. From $15,000 in 1933 it plunged to $1,200 in 1943.

In effect, a removal of Federal responsibility at Fort Hall occurred in 1925 when funds from the general treasury were no longer appropriated to the reservation. And, despite the fact that the source of Indian money was the Indians' own trust funds, the amounts decreased over a period of 20 years thus depriving the Reservation Indians of the use of their own money.

One standard appropriation item that remained in the budget through World War II was to "pay a physician, teacher, carpenter, engineer, farmer, and blacksmith." The amount fluctuated from $6,800 in 1868 to $7,580 in 1930. Other appropriations for the Fort Hall reservation were a direct appropriation of one quarter of a million dollars for hospital construction (1927–1944); $25,000 for improvements in sewage and water (1939); and $10,000 for rebuilding a dairy barn and replacing the dairy herd destroyed by fire (1925).

Between 1920 and 1928 approximately $100,000 was appropriated from trust funds for the reservation. Other appropriations from the trust funds were for industrial assistance during the Depression ($75,000); a purchase of land ($58,000 in 1939 and 1942) and compensation for a tribal attorney (up to $20,000 in 1940). It is significant that all these items were appropriated for Indian efforts to recapture the land that had been taken from them!

Disregard for education on reservations has been evident in the appropriations process affecting Fort Hall. In 1918, ten acres for schools and parks were set aside. In 1933 however, the school reserve was exchanged for land owned by the Oregon Shortline Railroad, and land for the school reserve was turned over to the Railroad. The original treaty obligation providing schools for each 30 children between the ages of 6 and 16 was never honored.

During the administration of Commissioner Collier, the Federal government came closest to fulfilling its educational obligation. Day schools or lodge schools were built in five locations on the reservation. Prior to this time a central boarding school, provided under the act of 1900, was the only school on the reservation, but with the advent of the day schools in the late 1920's, the central boarding school was abandoned.

By 1930 Indian children were attending high school in the Blackfoot School District. In 1946 Idaho passed an act providing for the reorganization of school districts and shortly thereafter, the reservation area was made a part of the existing school districts: Blackfoot, Pocatello, and American Falls.

Over the period from the original treaty to 1950, only $1.4 million had been spent on the social, health, and educational needs of Fort Hall Indians. No substantive legislation exists for any social needs at Fort Hall. Appropriation items for social purposes traditionally were only temporarily included in budgets. No efforts to outline a comprehensive educational program has even been attempted. Water project legislation, on the other hand, is comprehensive and detailed.

5. Culture and Conditions

A. LANGUAGE

In about a fifth of the homes only an Indian language is spoken. In an additional 50 percent Shoshone and/or Bannock is used along with English. On the other hand, in one-fourth of the homes English is spoken exclusively (Nybroten, 1964). Dr. Liljeblad, a professor at Idaho State University, has recently observed that "there are young people, persons in their 20's, whose English is so poor that their speech contains substitutions from the Shoshoni grammar, which sometimes make it incomprehensible to speakers of standard English." Furthermore, "even though presumably all parents today are bilingual, Shoshone is the only language spoken in many homes on the reservation. Many children, therefore, enter school unable to speak or even to understand English. Twenty years ago, when the reservation day schools were in operation, this deficiency was of no consequence."

A tribal member is tape recording the various Shoshone dialects in order to transcribe them before they are lost. She regrets not having learned Bannock from her grandfather before he died. "I don't think any understand the Bannock language. It's mainly the Shoshone," she related.

No survey has been made of the reservation to determine how many young people use the Shoshone language. For that matter, no survey of pre-school children has been made to determine how many preschool children use and comprehend English. Dr. Liljeblad believes that these children need a pre-school contact that would "guarantee their communication and verbalization ability in a definite system (for obvious reasons, in idiomatic English)."

The lack of English comprehension is a problem that faces Indian parents when they attempt to help their children attending public school. One observer noted:

> Many Indian parents don't understand the English language although they may speak it well. They can't use a dictionary. When a child asks parents for help in English, history, or math, the parents are not able to help him. The parents lose respect in the eyes of their children.

Dr. Wick Miller of the University of Utah characterizes the Shoshone attitude toward language learning as casual and utilitarian:

> The attitude toward language learning seems to be quite casual. I have not noted that the child is encouraged, punished or rewarded for his speech. I am told that if a child gives evidence of a speech defect, such as stuttering or lisping, it is ignored because he will outgrow it with no special training.

> The same casual attitude also prevails in second language learning. Learning another language is not thought of as remarkable or difficult. You learn by living with the people and listening; eventually you will come to understand and speak it. One speaker also stated that you "don't ask what things mean."
>
> Language, according to the prevailing attitude, is a tool to be used for communication. Little value is placed on skills in verbal art. The best speakers are those who can best utilize the language as a tool for communication. * * * In only one case was there any expression of "correctness" for alternate dialect forms, and in this case, the speaker, who was a young educated adult, may have been transferring notions from English. (W. Miller, *Western Shoshone Speech Communities*, paper presented at annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, 1965).

When the Shoshone child goes to public school, he runs into counter attitudes on the part of his teachers. The teachers take their English verbal art seriously and they hand it out in all its formal "correctness" and grammatical glory. The child is punished if he does not "transfer notions from English" into his linguistic style. His only defense against this formal language induction process is to remain silent. Separated from the informal group process he prefers, the child is not only miseducated but also deprived. Finally, the opportunity cost of learning a formal language like English is the loss of the unique linguistic style that was his before it was massacred by "correctness."

B. INCOME. EMPLOYMENT, WELFARE

Termination of agency responsibility for the needs of Fort Hall residents is especially evident in welfare. Six years ago the agency carried as many as 700 people on its General Assistance (welfare) rolls during the winter—the traditional season of widespread unemployment for the Indian at Fort Hall. At the same time in 1968 there were no more than 114 on the welfare rolls. In 1963 the agency spent $117,865 for general assistance. In 1968 it spent $15,091, decreasing agency welfare costs by almost 900%.

AGENCY EXPENDITURES FOR GENERAL ASSISTANCE AND CHILD WELFARE AT FORT HALL, FISCAL YEARS 1963-69

Fiscal year	General assistance	Child welfare	Miscellaneous[1]	Total
1963	$117,865	$10,607	$450	$128,922
1964	153,883	14,933		168,816
1965	144,325	11,132	2,414	157,871
1966	146,964	9,701		156,665
1967	44,312	12,915		57,227
1968	15,091	4,844	300	20,235
1969[2]	5,772	3,471		9,243

[1] Moneys expended for burials and bedding.
[2] 1st half of fiscal year 1969.

Moreover, the agency welfare recipient gets less from his welfare dollar today than he got in 1963. For example, the average per capita payment in February, 1963, was $26.95. In February, 1968, it was $28.43. If a two percent cost-of-living increase had been given annually then the recipient should have received $30.19 in February, 1968. Actually he got $1.66 less.

What is the explanation for the decrease in agency contributions to the cost of welfare for Fort Hall residents? The reduction in agency contribution was the effect of an implicit "dumping policy" to move welfare recipients from BIA responsibility to State-HEW supported welfare rolls. At Fort Hall, the Department of Public Assistance of the State of Idaho assumed responsibility for those Indians eligible under OASDI programs.

The May 1964 BIA welfare report to the Portland Area Office refers to a policy effective May 1, 1964, to discontinue general assistance to employables during the seasonal employment period. The policy was enforced for the next four years, showing a continuing downward trend in agency welfare costs for the seasonal employment period.

Agency records are not available on the persons dropped from the agency rolls. However, the same May 1964 report comments in regard to these welfare push-outs:

> In reality, not all employable Indians have found work. Many will not for various reasons, but it is likely that the most industrious ones will find work either through their own initiative or through the services of State Employment offices or Agency Employment Assistance Branch.

By July of that year the agency is describing the employment situation in more realistic terms in its report to the area office:

> It was estimated that about 300 (combination of husband and wife) or 30 percent of the employables remain unemployed. Spring work was late getting underway due to a late snow followed by three weeks of continuous rain, but this does not seem to be the entire reason for the large percentage of unemployment. Some employables will not go to the field to compete with workers of Mexican descent and others will not accept jobs to move pipes.
>
> We have only three reservation Indians employed in construction work off reservation. It is unfortunate the Fort Hall Indians are less skilled in construction and that Indians appear to have unfavorable attitudes toward union membership because there were $1,564,050 worth of new building permits in Pocatello in June which, incidentally we understand, is the highest for any June in the past ten years.
>
> The Youth Employment Program picture is not good. Both on and off reservation jobs are scarce. The number of Indian students placed is eleven. Of this number, there are seven failures, so to speak. Three girls and two boys quit and the other two lost their jobs through their own misconduct.

The latest attempt to extend the policy of removing employables from the welfare rolls is the tribal Work Experience Program.

Approved in 1968 for the Fort Hall Reservation the purpose of the program is to put able-bodied men to work on tribal projects. Agency welfare screens all recipients of General Assistance to determine their eligibility for the Work Experience Program. They then refer these persons to the tribe. As of May, 1968, four general assistance applicants had been referred to the tribe, and $990 had been expended on the program. The program is funded through general assistance, and $7,500 has been obligated for it.

In effect, the program substitutes a government pay check for a government welfare check. No one seems to have asked the basic question in respect to the individual's rights to welfare without demeaning himself. What about the case of the heavy equipment operator temporarily out of work? Should he be compelled to do clean-up work by the tribe in order to receive what is in effect unemployment compensation? National welfare policy dictates otherwise. Consequently, the agency should review tribal administration of the work experience program and establish guidelines to assure the protection of individual welfare rights.

As it was originally proposed, the program of work experience was to assist the individual to progress to the point where he would be ready for permanent job development, adult vocational training, or the Madera Employment Training Center. Work experience would instill the virtues of regular work habits. Once these were acquired the individual would be ready for specialized job training. Adult vocational training centers have been established under the auspices of the Department of Labor at universities, in urban centers and in other central locations. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has contracts with two large employment centers—at Roswell, New Mexico, and Madera, California. It was anticipated that adult Fort Hall residents who were employable but unable to obtain employment in the Fort Hall area would be sent to these training centers and after training would be relocated to some job center where they would find employment and establish a new life.

What were the results of the "relocation" program at Fort Hall? Eighty percent of those Indians who left the reservation for relocation in another place have returned! Over a six-year period from fiscal year 1963 through fiscal year 1968 fifty-six persons out of 70 returned. The 1968 report of the Employment Assistance Branch comments on this high returnee rate:

> Some are terminated at the training site; the reasons for their dismissal are caused by drinking, fighting, poor attitudes, lack of interest and motivation once they arrive. Others leave because of home sickness; pressures to return from friends and family are felt also. Urban adjustment difficulties crop up and in many cases the client cannot function under stress (stress meaning the client cannot cope with every day living responsibilities, going to class, doing class work, following rules and regulations.)

The permanent records of children attending the public and boarding schools contain similar comments!

Relocation was the unsuccessful piece of the generally successful secret strategy to dump the Indians on the welfare rolls of states with heavy urban concentrations. California was the prime target for Indians from Fort Hall (the Bay Area Indian population is approximately 25,000).

The strategy of transferring Fort Hall residents from the BIA welfare rolls to the State of Idaho has largely been successful. Since the "lost savings" associated with the failure of relocation are relatively small, it can be said that the "dumping policy" has been relatively successful for the agency.

In any case, the effects of the relocation program were devastating on the persons so removed. The cheap solution to the Indian welfare/employment problem compounded social and psychological problems that refused simple solution. Moved from one pocket of poverty to another, the former Fort Hall resident had lost more than he gained in the move. At least at home he could fall back on the extended family for moral support, if not bare essentials. Those displaced to the Bay Area found their surrogate families in the Chicano ghetto, their accustomed life style in the Indian bars, and their solace in the bottle.

What did the agency learn from this experience? For the BIA it was a failure measured by a high returnee rate, and ways must be found to cut down the "attrition." Therefore, the agency is moving to tighten up the candidate selection by screening out the "marginal" cases. Why not screen out marginal programs such as relocation?

The record of those who attend adult vocational training is only slightly improved over the public school drop-out rate. The drop-out rate for AVT is 30 percent. The dropout rate for Fort Hall Indians who go to Madera or Roswell is 40 percent.

The agency has evaluated the AVT and Relocation program and is proposing a training program using resources close at hand. The Manpower and Development Training program will train 40 persons in spite of an anticipated 50 percent drop-out rate! It is anticipated that some persons will enroll in the Vocational and Technical Division of Idaho State University. In addition, adult education classes are conducted on the reservation.

Still facing the agency is the critical question of job formation and development. There are not enough jobs on the reservation; consequently, the jobs must be found in the area. The number of local job placements for the last five years of Fort Hall residents was only 115 in permanent positions and 225 in temporary positions.

More significantly, the number of Indians being placed in permanent jobs is decreasing each year. In 1968 there were nine permanent placements. In 1967, twenty. In 1966, forty-six.

Counting seasonal laborers there were 618 employed persons out of 1,301 in the available labor force in March, 1968. The rate of unemployment was 52 percent. However, only 372 employed persons were in permanent positions, or 29 percent of the available labor force. In effect, 71 percent of the Fort Hall resident Indian population were either unemployed or dependent on seasonal employment.

Child welfare at Fort Hall has largely become a function of the State Department of Public Assistance, although there ensued a long battle between the State and the agency as to jurisdiction over children in trouble.

A cryptic remark in the agency welfare report for July 1964 highlights the sense of futility on the part of the agency in regard to the welfare of Indian children:

> *Child welfare.*—We hesitate to comment since we are not doing what is needed in this area other than sending children to boarding schools for social reasons (Welfare Narrative Report for July 1964–August 3, 1964).

However the commentator might have felt about the lack of positive effort on behalf of children's welfare, she revealed her hand in an earlier report that disclosed that the agency was doing something *to* children. In the Child Welfare section of its May 1964 report, the same person wrote:

> We have ten children for whom we pay foster home care. * * *. For five of these children we think the best plan would be to *terminate* parental rights. It is likely that movement will be slow since the Tribal Court has custody of these children (Welfare Narrative Report for May 1964).

By February 1965, the agency was having problems with mothers who wanted their children back. Two case histories give the flavor.

> *Case No. 1.*—Shonda, age two years, two months, a 4/4 degree Indian girl, who is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. X. Shonda was placed in a foster home, the A's, which originally wanted to adopt a child, on May 2, 1963, by the BIA who agreed to pay $50 per month for foster care. The foster parents were aware Shonda was not available for adoption and that she had been grossly neglected by her parents. The parents had marital problems and did not visit Shonda for five months.
>
> On October 5, with permission, the parents picked up their child, which caused the foster parents to be greatly upset. Foster home payment was terminated.
>
> During the next year there was frequent contact between the two families and Shonda was traded back and forth with progressively hostile feelings on the part of natural and foster parents. The A's felt Shonda was being neglected and also abused. The parents believed the A's were trying to take their child.
>
> On 11/6/64 the A's called Bannock County Probate Judge and explained that they had cared for Shonda for the past five months, presently had her, and had that day refused to give her to her parents whom they believed would continue to abuse her. The probate judge asked for a report from the BIA. He explained that he had known the A's for 25 years and knew they could provide a proper home for the child.

The natural parents have been extremely inadequate and irresponsible; however, during the past six months they have provided a much more stable home for their other seven children. The natural mother adamantly states she wants her child back.

Case No. 2.—Mrs. C., a 27-year-old woman, gave birth to an illegitimate son on 6/21/63. She lived with her parents and another son, age 6, for whom she drew ADC. She kept the child at home for nine months and then left both children with her mother, where she was living, and went to a town 35 miles away to work. After she had been gone six weeks, her sister contacted the probate judge charging that Mrs. C. could not be located and the grandmother could no longer care for the child.

The court placed the child in a non-Indian prospective adoptive home without the knowledge of the BIA or Department of Public Assistance. Mrs. C. returned one month later and asked the judge for her child back. He refused, explaining that she could not provide for the child and should relinquish it. Mrs. C. contacted the prosecuting attorney who advised likewise. She contacted the Department of Public Assistance who advised that they had no knowledge of the situation and the court had not requested their services. She has contacted a private attorney, whom she cannot afford to pay, to try to learn the whereabouts of her child and have him returned.

C. THE USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The non-Indian farmer-businessman is in firm control of Fort Hall's rich land. Though the Fort Hall Indians own the land, their average yearly income is only one-third that of their non-Indian neighbors. Non-Indians increasingly dominate its use and, therefore, the profits it yields.

In the past fifteen years agricultural profits on Fort Hall have increased. In 1968, for instance, high returns were produced from some of the country's finest sprinkler-irrigated potato land. But the Indians' share of this boom has been minimal, for these modern, profitable operations belong exclusively to non-Indian lessees. In 1963, Indians used 39 percent of the Reservation's non-idle irrigable lands, but by 1967 Indian use of these lands had fallen to 19 percent. As of 1967, there was not a single totally operational, full time Indian cash-crop farm. Further, in the last 20 years Indian-owned cattle has decreased by 66 percent.

TABLE A.[1]—OWNERSHIP AND USES OF GRAZING, DRY-FARM, AND IRRIGATION LANDS UNDER BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS JURISDICTION AT THE FORT HALL INDIAN RESERVATION[2]

Ownership and uses	Number of acres in land class			
	Open grazing	Dry-farm land	Irrigation land	Total
Tribal land:				
Used by Indians	39,551	0	270	39,821
Used by non-Indians	114,293	5,240	2,100	121,633
Idle	0	0	3,530	3,530
Total	153,844	5,240	5,900	164,984
Individual land:				
Used by Indians	57,086	400	6,680	64,166
Used by non-Indians	137,647	17,700	14,540	169,887
Idle	0	0	11,988	11,988
Total	194,733	18,100	33,208	246,041
Government land:				
Used by Indians	3,217	0	0	3,217
Used by non-Indians	17,570	1,550	80	19,200
Idle	0	0	0	0
Total	20,787	1,550	80	22,417
Total land:				
Used by Indians	99,854	400	6,950	107,204
Used by non-Indians	269,510	24,490	16,720	310,720
Idle	0	0	15,518	15,518
Total	369,364	24,890	39,188	433,442

[1] From Norman Nybroten, "Economy and Conditions of the Fort Hall Reservation", p. 6.

[2] Compiled form "Land Use Inventroy and Production Record," reported by the Division of Resources, Fort Hall Agency Bureau of Indian Affairs, March 1963.

TABLE B.—OWNERSHIP AND USES[1]

	Number of acres		
	Open grazing	Dry farm	Irrigation
Tribal land:			
Used by Indians	44,912	None	1,978
Used by non-Indians	71,960	2,855	2,179
Idle	5,000	None	1,677
Total	121,872	2,855	5,834
Allotted or individual land:			
Used by Indians	66,900	2,198	5,268
Used by non-Indians	115,827	22,342	24,659
Idle	753	None	9,467
Total	183,480	24,540	39,394
Government land:			
Used by Indians	1,754	None	40
Used by non-Indians	18,418	2,061	50
Idle	None	None	None
Total	20,172	2,061	90

[1] "1967, Land Operations," Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fort Hall Agency.

TABLE C.—FAMILIES ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES 1967[1]

	Cash-crop farming	Livestock
Operational:		
Indian	None	10
Non-Indian	208	42
Part time, Indian	8	32
Operational, non-Indian	84	35
Not operational (not moneymaking):		
Indian	None	30
Non-Indian	None	120

[1] Land operations, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fort Hall Agency.

The discrepancy between available resources and economic return was described by Dr. Joseph Hearst in his 1958 Fort Hall study. Dr. Hearst stated:

> We have 522,036 acres of land, yet our total estimated income was little more than one dollar an acre. The total for last year, estimated by the Agency, was $588,765, of which $157,314 was tribal, and $431,451 was individual. If this total income was evenly distributed, it would give only $223 for each enrolled member of the tribe.
>
> These figures make it clear that we are not getting an adequate return from our resources. The point to be made here is that there is great difference between the possession of resources and the means and ability to use them. We have assets, but insufficient operating capital and credit. Even if we had all the money we need, there would still be a long lag before we can complete a program. Our people lack training and education.

In terms of resource potential, Fort Hall is unusually fortunate. The Reservation is served by several heavily traveled highways (U.S. 91, 191, 30 and Interstate 15). A railroad crosses the reservation and an airport used by two regional airlines lies only about fifteen minutes from the townsite of Fort Hall. Local roads are adequate for present needs though new resource uses would require a significant improvement.

Agricultural potential is good. "On the basis of most efficient use of resources and present water rights there appears to be somewhere between eighty thousand and one-hundred thousand acres of irrigable land" (Nybroten). The land has proven suitable for the production of potatoes, sugar beets, alfalfa and some grains.

An even more important resource in terms of Indian tradition is the abundance of grazing land. Nybroten's 1964 evaluation of physical resources on Fort Hall concluded: "The grazing resource on the Fort Hall Reservation is a valuable one and with improved management and development can be made more productive both physically and financially."

Water resources are assuming increasingly greater significance since the higher profit operations require irrigation. As Nybroten notes: "Although the Fort Hall reservation is in an area of extremely low rainfall, it is so situated so that a great deal of water is available for both agricultural and domestic purposes." Minerals too are available on Fort Hall in significant quantities. The most important economically-proven mineral deposit is phosphate rock, mined since 1946. "The consensus seems to be that the deposit is extensive, and operations have constantly been expanded and seem oriented well into the future with probabilities for further expansion" (Nybroten, p. 9).

The potential for recreational development is also considerable. The high country could support winter sport developments; the area called "the bottoms" offers an extensive wildlife resource, and is an area of striking natural beauty.

Given this array of available resources, the Indian's failure to reap the rewards must somehow be explained. Most succinctly, he has been shut out. The non-Indian world, including the BIA, has given the Indian little freedom in which to develop those economic arrangements that best fit his culture. Further, the policies he has been forced to accept have been poorly implemented. It is with these conditions in mind that a review of the potential and the present economic realities on Fort Hall is undertaken.

A very basic factor in this socio-economic mosaic is the heirship status of much of the Indian owned land. As on many other reservations, the effects of the 1887 Allotment Act [1] in combination with state inheritance laws are still felt. Today many original individual allotments are owned by several individuals who are not part of the same family and share no common interest. Most Indians are merely minute part-owners of a constantly changing number of land parcels. Over half of the approximately 1900 allotments on Fort Hall belong to anywhere from 2 to 40 heirs (Liljeblad, p. 38).

Given this pattern, it is difficult to translate Indian land ownership into Indian land use. Owning partial interests in several widely scattered land parcels does the potential Indian farmer or rancher no good. And so for many years a considerable proportion of the land remained idle. The BIA chose to attack this problem in the simplest and, ultimately, least satisfactory way, by leasing the land. An accelerated leasing program was initiated on Fort Hall in 1956. Although leasing permitted the Bureau to fulfill its responsibility to develop Indian land and resources—increasingly less land on Fort Hall remains idle—it has proved a dismal failure in terms of the BIA's larger responsibility to create a climate in which Indians can operate by and for themselves.[2]

The relationship of the leasing program to the development, or lack of development of individual Indians is rarely seriously considered. Among Bureau officials, Indian land has become almost synonomous with public land, and short run considerations of resource allocation and efficiency are inevitably stressed over long range community development needs. BIA officials repeatedly explain the increasing dominance of the white entrepreneur with the statement that "Economics will prevail."

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[1] Each individual Indian was given 20 acres of the Reservation's farm land and 160 acres of its grazing land in an attempt to destroy the communal system.

[2] Perhaps this is a reflection of the Bureau's "Interior" orientation. Most of the Department of Interior's energies are devoted to caring for our natural resources and the nation's publicly owned land, not the nation's "human resources."

Given the lack of counter programs that might lead to an increase of Indian enterprises, economics will prevail. Lacking credit, technical and especially managerial skills, the Indian land owner can only profit from his ancestral lands by leasing them to the highest bidder. The non-Indian with the credit and know-how to undertake such enterprises finds a ready market of Indians willing to lease.

TABLE D—INCOME FROM LEASING (1968)

	Number of leases	Acres	Annual rent
Tribal owned:			
Agricultureai uses	223	15,175	$80,634
Business uses	7	264	18,884
Other	23	8,486	2,644
Individually owned:			
Agricultural uses	981	82,866	395,274
Business uses	70	394	6,142
Other	95	1,237	3,150
Phosphate mines		18,015	[1] 450,912

[1] Tribal share is approximately $250,000.

The BIA effectively retains an enormous amount of power over lease matters on Fort Hall. All leases must be approved by an agent of the Superintendent. From the point of view of the Indians, the leasing of tribal lands requires the consent of the tribal authorities. Individually owned land, however, may be leased without the consent of the individual Indian owner (the so-called "90-day authority"). Although in practice BIA officials at Fort Hall use this authority with great caution, it has in the past been abused.

It has also been the practice of the BIA to permit perspective lessees (again usually non-Indian) to solicit "consents" or "agreements" from individual Indian land owners. In effect, these are blank leases in which the Indian consents to the agreement before the actual terms of the lease have been spelled out. Although present BIA officials dislike this method and prefer to have the Indian owner sign the lease itself, the "consent" method was used at least once in 1968 (19 or 20 such proposed "consents" were rejected by the BIA this year) and remains an available tool.

In the past as well, the BIA has authorized extremely long-term leases in order to encourage land resource development (improvement leases.) The developers are, of course, non-Indians and many have made small fortunes on this type of speculation. For example, one non-Indian in 1964 leased a large tract of Indian land for thirteen years at $0.30–$0.50/acre/year. While the lease did stipulate that once the lessee installed sprinkler irrigation the annual rent would rise to $1.50–$2.00/acre, Indians in 1968 could demand annual rents of $20.00–$30.00 for such land. Meanwhile, the independent University Agricultural Extension Service estimates that such potato operations bring the non-Indian lessee an annual *net* profit of $200 per acre.

Beyond the terribly high price Indians have paid for the BIA's land development program, the success of the program, measured by its own goals, has been questionable. The whole philosophy behind the improvement lease is to get the lessee to improve a piece of land, mainly by installing wells and irrigation systems, in return for which he pays a low annual rent. Supposedly, the Indian lessor, through accepting a lower rent, will have more valuable land at the end of the lease period. In reality though, the lessee usually installs used pipe and other inferior equipment that deteriorates by the time the lease ends giving the Indian land owner little in return for his discounted rent.

Only after years of complaint by local Indians has the BIA finally acted to begin to correct these abuses. As of spring 1968 new leases contain specifications for the type and quality of equipment installed in connection with improvement leases, although the lessee is still not required to maintain the equipment in any specified manner once installed. BIA officials continually expressed the fear that such added restrictions would drive the non-Indian lessee away. This seems doubtful when it is realized that most non-Indian lessees are not marginal operators but are involved in substantial enterprises. One large non-Indian operator for example, presently rents up to 4,000 acres of irrigable reservation land and looks forward to netting up to $300,000 per year. It would be difficult to "drive" him away.

Further, this "improvement lease" approach has failed in that one avowed purpose was to encourage eventual Indian use of reservation lands. Since Indians lack the capital needed to install such irrigation improvements,[3] the equipment would be provided through the improvement lease and after the lease expired the Indian could begin to use the improved land in his own enterprise. No such pattern has developed. In 1968 two improvement leases came due and there were no Indians ready to take them over. Once again, the property reverted to non-Indian hands. Since there is no meaningful agriculture training program that would prepare Indians to take over the kinds of enterprises initiated by these improvement leases, it seems rather futile to expect Indian agricultural expertise to spontaneously appear.

The leasing process itself sheds further light on existing BIA-lessee-lessor relationships. The prospective lessee expresses an interest in particular land parcels to the BIA realty office, which then gives him a list of the landowners involved, has the land appraised, and sets a minimum acceptable rent. The lease is drawn up by the Bureau whereupon the prospective lessee must secure the signatures of all the landowners. If tribally-owned land is involved, the tribal council must give its consent by resolution. The lessee then posts bond for an amount equal to the annual rent (corporate surety bonds from insurance companies).

Given this process, Bureau officials charged with the leasing program spend a very significant portion of their time and energies serving the non-Indian lessee. They often sympathize with the lessee, charged with locating and securing the signatures of up to 50 individuals to lease one piece of land. There are about 25 non-Indian lessees with large, successful farming operations and the Bureau's Realty Officers are proud of their achievements: "We know what we've got in these lessees. They're great farmers. And anyway the trend is to increasing the size of farms." It seems that the Bureau tends to view the success and well-being of this small group as an indication of its own success.

Beyond agricultural leases, another important source of income to Fort Hall Indians is the leasing of land for phosphate mining. Simplot Company and the Food Machinery Corporation lease land for this purpose. Simplot has an agreement with FMC that permits it to do the actual on-Reservation mining while FMC processes certain low grade phosphates. Both Simplot and FMC have their processing plants outside the Reservation in nearby Pocatello. In 1968 Simplot and FMC together paid the Tribe and individual landowners $450,912. In the last ten years tribal income from this source had doubled.

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[3] Though well drilling is relatively inexpensive on Fort Hall, many Indians cannot even afford this first step.

As in other leasing matters, all mineral leases are drawn up and approved by the BIA (in this case, the Area Office in Portland draws them up). The leases have a number of interesting features. Most generally, the method of payment is a combination of advance rentals and royalties. $7.50/acre/year is paid to the lessor in advance rentals. Then these advanced yearly rentals are deducted from the royalties for that year. All lessors will, therefore, be paid at least $7.50/acre/year. The lease may be terminated at any time if it is found that phosphate is no longer "produced in paying quantities." From the Indians' point of view, the method of determining royalties poses some question.

Depending on the percentage of P_2O_5 contained, the ore is classified into one of three royalty rate categories:

Percent P_2O_5:	*Royalty rate paid (per ton)*
30 percent or more	$0.50
26.5 percent up to 30 percent	0.36
Less than 26.5 percent	0.22

In 1968, 83 percent of the ore removed from Fort Hall was classified as "less than 26.5 percent" and paid the lowest amount, $0.22 per ton. These percentages, and therefore, the royalty rates, are determined by Simplot. The BIA has no checking procedure of its own and relies on the quarterly inspections of the Mining Branch of the United States Geological Survey. Although Mining Branch officials do not accuse Simplot of dishonesty, they do report instances of fairly serious errors and misunderstanding of leasing provisions that have affected royalty returns.

Recently, the Tribes on their own initiative acted to remedy this inspection void and required Simplot to allow a Tribal representative to be involved in the classification of ore procedure on a day-to-day basis. Unfortunately, the Tribal representative is not a trained minerals expert and must be aided in his overseeing job by a technical assistant, a Simplot employee. A number of Fort Hall Indians continue to raise questions about the efficiency of this inspection system.

The "Indian Labor" provision of these mineral leases also raises some questions. Shoshone-Bannock Indians of Fort Hall are to be given priority in hiring at the Gay Mine (the off-reservation processing plants in Pocatello are *not* covered: "The lessee shall do everything practicable to employ qualified Indians" and "* * * to make special efforts to work Indians * * * into skilled, technical, and other higher jobs." The company's reading of the second half of this provision is limited indeed.

As of December 1, 1968, of the 220 man labor force at Gay Mine, 51 were Shoshone-Bannock. Most of these men are laborers. Simplot offers no formal training programs that lead to more skilled positions. Recruiting is limited to letting the Fort Hall employment office know when vacancies are available at the Gay Mine.

The attempt, through the "Indian Labor" provision, to make the phosphate enterprises more than just another source of "unearned income" has been a de facto failure. Similarly, agricultural leases now have an "Indian Labor" provision. But here, too, its effects have been minimal. Few quality jobs ever fall to Indians who work on these leased farms. The work is mostly seasonal and the jobs usually unskilled.

There is, however, one area of resource development that in the past has led to more than just "unearned" income. Up until the early fifties, many Indians on Fort Hall were engaged in successful open-range livestocking. The traditional extended family system lent itself to this kind of communal activity. The Indian remains an accomplished horseman, and this skill also helped make many families very successful ranchers. Yet, today only ten Indian families have full-time livestock operations. The reasons for the decline of Indian ranching on Fort Hall are many. In general, the BIA's termination policy of the fifties had much to do with that decline. An attempt was made in those years to remove many of the traditional protective mechanisms used by the Bureau to regulate Indian life. The abandonment of the repayment cattle program was one such change that had a truly disasterous effect on Indian ranching. Under the repayment cattle program Indian-owned cattle could not be sold without BIA consent, and then only at special "Indian sales." Once this system was abandoned, cattle could be sold at any time. The herd began to shrink almost immediately.

Their sense of responsibility led many Indians to sell their cattle. Extended family responsibilities are such that relatives are expected to come to the assistance of a family member in need. In time of need—and with the very poor conditions on Fort Hall many are truly needy—the Indian ranchers sold his cattle to obtain necessary funds. The revolving credit fund also began to dry-up in this period, thus severely limiting the opportunities to repurchase stock.

Also in keeping with the termination policy, market considerations increasingly took precedence over human considerations. With the advent of improved irrigation systems, the most "efficient" use of much of this grazing land became row-crop cultivation and the BIA began its accelerated leasing program. Through their refusal to tolerate some "inefficiency," the BIA in effect assisted in the destruction of a proud way of life. More and more grazing land has been converted to leased farm land, though many Indians on Fort Hall seem anxious for the opportunity to return to ranching. With only 29 percent of the available labor force in permanent jobs, their concern is hardly surprising.

TABLE E.—EMPLOYMENT AS OF MARCH 1968[1]

	Male	Female	Total
Total resident Indian population	1,466	1,504	2,970
Available labor force	700	601	1,301
Employed:			
Permanent	285	87	372
Temporary (includes seasonal work)	176	70	246

[1] From March 1968 Fort Hall Agency "Report of Labor Force."

Water on Fort Hall is another important resource. As mentioned above, experts maintain that the Reservation's existing water supply is adequate. Further, the courts have established the prior right of the Tribe and allottees of the Fort Hall Reservation to irrigation water (*U.S.* v. *Hibner*, 27 F. 2d 909 (D Idaho, 1928)). Yet in December 1968, one Indian woman told of how her family had lost 60 acres of hay for lack of water. The family will now have to dip into their already low cash resources to purchase feed for their horses. The rigidity of the BIA water allotment systems makes such unfortunate mistakes quite possible.

Each year, a schedule is determined for the use of water from the reservation's irrigation ditches specifying the dates and times that water can be drawn. The user is then visited in January or February by the BIA field officer charged with distributing the water and maintaining the irrigation ditches in his area. The Ditch Rider, so called, gives each user his own water schedule.

Communication problems plague this system. Frequently problems involve small land parcels owned and used by more than one Indian. The water authorities must decide which of the owners is the "user" and therefore, the holder of the water rights. When the new water schedule is completed, instead of sending the schedule to all of the owners, the Ditch Rider decides for himself who shall be classified as "the user." Given shifting family relationships, it is quite possible that the wrong owner is notified, leaving the true user for that year effectively without water rights. This water system is a complicated one and relies upon precise communications. (See example of typical water schedule, table F.) Yet its administration depends upon, as one BIA Land Operations official put it, how much of a "diplomat" the Ditch Rider is. Of the nine Ditch Riders on Fort Hall, there is only one Indian and he is only a substitute. BIA officials claim that Indian applicants for the job usually do not qualify for training; anyway, they usually "aren't the dependable type." In addition a Ditch Rider must be available by phone which eliminates many potential Indian employees.

The Ditch Rider holds a rather low echelon position (GS-5) but is expected to handle all grievances since it is BIA policy to "solve problems in the field." In many cases the process just does not work. Indians have complained for example that the Ditch Rider did not put their names on the water schedule and once without water, they were forced to lease their land; or that a sprinkler system was installed below them by a non-Indian lessee who now received preferential treatment from water authorities.

TABLE F.—FORT HALL PROJECT, IDAHO—WATER DELIVERY SCHEDULE, 1968

Name of user	Description	Acres	Hours	Minutes	Time on	Day
	4 days on, 3 days off					
	Fill ditch		1	30	10:15 a.m.	Thursday.
W. E. Olive	Fr. W/2/E/2/NW/4/NE/4 W.O	3	4	05	11:45 a.m.	Do.
James Hovey	Fr. E/2/E/2/NW/4/NE/4 W.O	3	4	05	3:50 p.m.	Do.
Don Armstrong	NW/4/SE/4/NE/4/NE/4/SW/4/NE/4	20	27	10	7:55 p.m.	Do.
Lloyd Swore	Fr. 29A Gr. Les	20	27	10	11:05 p.m.	Friday.
Do	E/2/NE/4/NE/4 W.O	20	27	10	2:15 a.m.	Sunday.
Elvin Vail	Fr. N/2/E/2/E/2 W.O	3.47	4	50	5:20 a.m.	Monday.
	Off				10:15 a.m.	Do.

Note: Rider to set stream, users to follow as shown closing gate of preceding user. If water is not needed notify rider in advance.

Although its is possible that the Indian just did not understand the complicated procedure involved, it is still somewhat unreasonable to expect the insufficiently training Ditch Rider to be able to handle all of these problems fairly and competently.

In terms of general water policy, the influence of the termination on policy can still be seen. During the first three years that land is farmed by a non-Indian (whether a lessee or owner), that non-Indian receives free water. The BIA thus offers a bonus for converting farm land to non-Indian use. In the soon-to-be completed Michaud Flats Irrigation project, *all* the land involved is leased (approximately 10,000 acres). Again it is the non-Indian user who seems to reap the benefits of this Bureau-sponsored water project.

In this period of general prosperity, the gap between the potential of Fort Hall and the harsh reality has widened considerably. The Great Society has meant little; industrial development projects are almost non-existent on the Reservation; a number of ventures have been attempted recently and failed (e.g. a garment factory). As for the role of the BIA the Superintendent remarked that, in keeping with the Bureau policy of "standing in the background, we don't go out and make contacts with industries for the Tribes."

In terms of job training, too, Fort Hall has been shortchanged. The first Manpower Development and Training Act program involved four women trainees. A second pending project will involve thirty people in an attempt to provide job orientation training and basic skills. The Superintendent "hopes they will have jobs waiting" when their training is complete, but there is little evidence that any planning is being done to insure jobs for these thirty trainees.

On every economic front, the prospects on Fort Hall are indeed bleak. Even if income from leasing continues to increase, there is little reason to expect an improvement in the unemployment statistics. And the unemployment problem on Fort Hall is of central importance.

Perpetual unemployment undermines family stability. Typically, it creates feelings of self-contempt and hopelessness. Exposure to these persistent patterns is having untold effects on the Reservation's young people. Most spectacularly, the suicides tell the story and in more long range terms, the educational statistics reflect the same disintegration. Any attempt to improve education on Fort Hall must necessarily be accompanied by a reordering of economic priorities.

D. INDIAN LEADERSHIP FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The Indian leader faces historic barriers to assuming a responsible role in the institutions that control the resources he owns. Dr. Liljeblad describes the deteriorating effect of these barriers upon Indian leadership:

> The Government supervised the use of their lands and handled their business. Inertia took the place of frank expression of public opinion. There were no matters of vital importance which they felt free to decide by themselves, no more occasion to meet in council or to exercise the formerly

> much-fostered area of public speaking. Gifted individuals, desirous of influencing the course of events, who under other conditions would have provided the necessary leadership for new forms of wholesome community activity became the most persistent conveyors of detractory gossip and ill-concealed antipathy for the white man's education and health services.
>
> Under the rule of an omnipotent agent, reservation people lost all initiative. They became accustomed to looking to him for getting their lease money, settling their domestic quarrels, and having their children punished. With the disintegration of the old forms of social control, young people assumed a great deal of misused freedom. Petty criminality and disorderly behavior found their cause largely in drunkenness. Lost in monotony and idleness on the reservations, many individuals fell victim to the illegal traffic in intoxicants. [However, it had not always been this way.]
>
> When band organization with formal councils had developed, unanimity was required for decisions affecting the total community. The leadership of influential men was much strengthened toward the end of the native period when disputes with the whites became a crucial issue. In addition, after the Indians had gone on the reservations, individuals of exceptional authority continued for some time to be spokesmen of public opinion, particularly in disputes with government officials. However, with the general collapse of organized tribal activities in the 1880's old-time leadership among Idaho Indians lost its main justification for continued existence (Liljebald, *Some Observations on Fort Hall Reservation*, unpublished ms., April 1967).

Reduced to petty manipulation by governmental agencies the defeated Indian leadership finds no understanding from non-Indians who interpret their powerless state as that of a misbehaving child. For example, consider the statement of the social worker at Fort Hall:

> The initial acting out subsided as families became aware that it was not a requirement or a necessity to manipulate the agency in order to be given the consideration that their problems demand * * * It would appear that their relationship to the Branch of Welfare improved as they realized that nothing was to be gained by playing the Branch of Education or the Branch of Credit against the Branch of Welfare.

Moreover, even when Indian attempts at gaining leadership roles are perceived as non-threatening, government employees are often not responsive. For instance, the BIA endorsed the concept of Indian community health representatives, but it was ineffectual in securing an adequate number of community health representatives to assure their success. One of the Indian leaders instrumental in promoting the concept said:

> The Portland Area Office told us that we could have only one community health representative. We didn't think that was fair. We were told that's all we could have so that's all

> we submitted, but later we found out that if we had submitted more, we could have gotten more.

The agency has endorsed the hiring of welfare aides from welfare rolls. Founded on the concept of new careers for the poor, which assumes that persons on welfare are qualified to assist other persons on welfare, the job of welfare aide is a vehicle for "turning over" the community to the people. However, the agency has not been effective in fighting for the resources to support more than a token number of jobs. Moreover, agency personnel tend to view welfare aid jobs as an extension of welfare policy rather than community development policy. On the whole, BIA personnel lack appreciation for the concept of community change and development, especially when it implies the redistribution of power from welfare professionals to Indian people.

Even the limited entry to the community power structure of a position on the school board has not been obtained by the Indian. School officials are receptive to the inclusion of Indians on the school boards in the three districts, but they have neither prepared Indian parents for a responsible role on the boards, nor have they used their influence to create a favorable climate for the election to the school boards of an Indian.

Even more critical than BIA responsiveness to community development at Fort Hall is the apparent absence of definition of community goals by the Indian people themselves. Attempts to organize the community have been sporadic and fragmented efforts, lacking conceptual coherence, and long-range organizational strength. Typically, the Tribal Business Council identifies a problem and creates a resolution about it. Council Committees or the BIA are charged with the responsibility of implementation. Coordination is lacking, and follow-up depends on individuals who have an interest in implementing the resolution. Conflicting interests—often based on individual self-interest—preclude group definition and implementation of community goals. Indian leadership becomes cast in the role of arbitration between parties in conflict, thus diverting leadership potential from long-range strategic considerations.

Some Indian leaders have demonstrated a willingness to rise above immediate concerns and give their time and energies to future interests of Fort Hall. However, until more Indians perceive the necessity for solid community backing of such leadership, the potential for change and lasting community development will be impeded by the Indian people themselves regardless of the presence or absence of professional support.

E. RELATIONSHIP OF THE RESERVATION TO THE SURROUNDING COMMUNITY

In 1958 Dr. Joseph Hearst outlined some of the problems that Fort Hall Indians face in the area in which the reservation is located. He enumerated them in the following list:

1. Community attitudes in Idaho tend to restrict employment of Indians and to confine them to slum areas within the cities if and when they migrate from the reservation.

2. The same prejudice tends to limit them to unskilled and menial jobs if they do gain employment.

3. Low income and adverse community attitudes result in very narrow educational opportunities.

4. Their "rumored" instability and undependability lead to restrictions on opportunities for apprenticeship and job training.

5. On the reservation and in the schools they meet improper and insufficient vocational guidance.

6. In general terms, responsible officials have failed to train individuals for areas of needed skills.

7. The Indians themselves are afraid to train, or to apply for, particular jobs because of fear of rejection or failure, ignorance, tradition, or for other reasons. Similarly, they frequently leave employment once gained for fear of reprimand or failure.

8. A long history of poor relations with whites has left them with a deep and continuing distrust of all white efforts to help them.

When the Subcommittee staff visited the area in December 1968, they found the "No dogs or Indians allowed" signs gone (they had been removed in the heyday of civil rights during the early 60's). But most of the basic problems outlined by Dr. Hearst were still apparent. Some minor changes had been made. The east side of Pocatello had been somewhat "cleaned up", and fewer Indians were in the drunk tank in Pocatello. The old city jail had been closed down last year where the Saturday night pick-up, "dried-out." In fact, the city fathers were promoting the establishment of a replica of the old Fort Hall to encourage tourists "To stop off and see the reservation."

The city of Blackfoot built a new jail to house Indians arrested by the city police and by the tribal police. The mayor of Blackfoot personally ordered that galvanized covers be placed on top of shower stalls to prevent suicide attempts. The County Commissioners personally inspected the Bingham County Jail and ordered all "projections" taken down after the Indians had hanged themselves on them. But enforced idleness in a cell was still the basic routine.

Civic leaders are beginning to appreciate the fact that Indians make direct annual contributions of $10 million to the economy of the area, although there is still some reluctance to admit that the reservation indirectly adds another $10 million in taxes (i.e., the annual taxes paid by Simplot and the Ford Machinery Corporation to the communities as a result of processing phosphate mined on the reservation).

Some Indian leaders feel that things are improving and that meaningful discussions have been opened between the Indian and non-Indian communities, especially with Idaho State University. Others argue that things are getting worse, pointing to the loss of autonomy on the part of the small farmer and rancher, the lack of legal protection that results in a high conviction rate per Indian arrests and excessive sentences, the loss of managerial control over owned resources, a suicide rate 10 times the national average, an epidemic of suicide attempts among the youth, and the presence of discrimination in public places.

By way of response, one of the favorite targets of reverse prejudice is the Mormon Church. In the past, Mormon farmers took land away from Indians and in so doing precipitated the slaughter of Bear River. Currently, the Mormon Community is the power structure that controls credit, employment, and even school success. One long time observer of the education scene charged:

> In the Blackfoot school district the Mormon religion is predominant. Those who are in the LDS Seminary[4] are pushed further ahead than others. We believe the only teachers hired are from these LDS seminaries, and that's what's wrong with our leasing department (BIA Agency), they're LDS, too.

Perhaps the most revealing remark about the Indian's status in the community comes from a freshman student at Blackfoot High School:

> When Robert Kennedy came, that was the only time they ever showed any respect for the Indians, just on that one day, and after that they could care less.

F. SUICIDE AT FORT HALL

Two days after the Subcommittee first visited Fort Hall under the chairmanship of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy in January 1968, a 16-year-old Shoshone boy hanged himself in the Bannock County jail in Blackfoot, Idaho. Several months earlier an 18-year-old high school girl committed suicide in the same cell. Prior to that time a Shoshone adult had taken his life in the same cell. Ten Fort Hall residents have attempted suicide in jail since the late Senator's visit.

The suicide rate on the Fort Hall reservation is over ten times the national average. The Shoshone-Bannock tribes have one of the highest rates among Indian tribes.

SUICIDE RATE PER 100,000 OF REPRESENTATIVE TRIBAL GROUPS

Tribal group	Number of years averaged	Suicide rate per 100,000
Alaska native	2	14.6
Arizona Indians, exclusive of Navajo	1	9.7
Cheyenne	7	80–100
Montana Indians	3	19.3
Navajo	10	10.3
Oklahoma Indians	3	4.6
Shoshone-Bannock	7	98.0
Sioux of South Dakota	3	17.4

During the period from 1960 to 1967, fifteen Shoshone-Bannocks committed suicide. In 1968, three of the 35 suicide attempts were successful. The number of suicide incidents at Fort Hall constitutes an epidemic situation.

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[4] The Church of Latter-Day Saints have built seminaries in the proximity of the high schools in the area.

SUICIDE INCIDENTS INVOLVING FORT HALL INDIAN RESIDENTS, 1968

	Minors, 18 years		Young Adults, 18–25		Adults, over 26		
	Suicide	Attempt	Suicide	Attempt	Suicide	Attempt	Total
January	1	2		1			4
February				2		1	3
March				3	1	1	5
April							
May		1		[illegible]			2
June			1	1		1	3
July		1		5			6
August							
September							
October		1		1		1	3
November		2				2	4
December				2			2
Total	1	7	1	19	1	6	35

Note: Total number of incidents, 35; total number of suicides, 3; total number of attempts, 32; jail incidents, 11.

The Public Health Service in 1967 initiated a suicide prevention program at Fort Hall, and a suicide prevention specialist has been stationed there as unit director. The Subcommittee has been assured by the Director of the Division of Indian Health, PHS, that additional mental health personnel are being assigned to Fort Hall to deal with the epidemic. A holding facility for suicidal persons is being established at the reservation. The Subcommittee trusts that this facility will be under Tribal control and will be used in lieu of the jails for juveniles charged with minor offenses.

During the visit of the Subcommittee in December, 1968, it was informed by the arresting officers that a young man attempted to strangle himself after he had been arrested and placed in a police car prior to his being taken to jail. The tribal chairman in a letter to the Subcommittee after this visit articulated the desperation lying behind suicidal behavior under such conditions:

> It is too late for us Indians. I know of no attorney in Blackfoot or Pocatello whom we Indians could now trust * * * some of the younger Indians now fight the police or *attempt suicide* or both for the reason that once a "capture" has been made it is all over—you are guilty, tried, and sentenced upon a successful arrest, and why tell a white lawyer anything.

Those who have observed the Shoshone-Bannock over a period of time refer to a tendency toward self-destruction, ultimately suicide, especially among the adolescent Indian. Relating this phenomenon to the breakdown in the institutions that traditionally structure the individual Dr. Liljeblad has noted:

> Seeking a mutual support in lieu of parental guidance these young Indians, most of them high-school age, today form in-groups some of whom formally, even in an almost observant way, function as harbingers of death.

Another explanation for the suicide epidemic among Fort Hall Indian adolescents is provided by Dr. Larry H. Diznang of the National Institute of Mental Health's Center for Studies of Suicide

Prevention. Having studied the fifteen Shoshone-Bannocks who committed suicide between 1960 and 1967, Dr. Diznang reports on the "nature of the individuals who committed suicide and * * * how their self-inflicted deaths relate to the context of their special cultural problems." In his paper entitled "Observations on Suicidal Behavior Among the Shoshone Bannock Indians" he presents case histories of turmoil, frustration, repeated failure, and often repeated tragedy, and then writes:

> In almost every case examined there was evidence of an internal disruption in the individual manifested most often by early difficulties in school, problems with the law or one form or another of drug abuse. The individuals in this study who committed suicide seemed to have consistently experienced early and prolonged social and emotional deprivation. In almost every case it was clear that the parents themselves were struggling with immense problems within themselves, often manifested by severe intermittent or chronic alcohol intoxication. When the social or welfare agencies made attempts to intervene, the situation was often handled by sending the child away to a boarding school or other rehabilitation programs. In spite of the fact that this often removed the child from a difficult if not oppressive situation it simultaneously led to further separation and alienation from his community and the few friends who might have offered him a certain amount of peer stability. It is not possible to treat a living organism with as much developmental abuse as we see in these cases without that organism experiencing either a severe incapacity or early death. In all 15 cases both of these occurred.

This, then, is the nature of the individual. Moving to "the context of their special cultural problems" Dr. Diznang makes the following points:

—The present community was originally made up by a number of unrelated bands who were forced by the Government to settle on the Fort Hall reservation, and band and kinship ties still create a certain amount of fragmentation within the community;

—The innate psychological resistance against relinquishing old patterns and customs and adapting rapidly to a relatively new pattern of existence led to further individual and social conflict and disruption;

—A state of relative disorganization prevented the Indians from satisfactorily developing the means to be self-sufficient and a long, vicious cycle of dependency upon the Government came into being which further undermined the self-esteem of the groups establishing a self-defeating pattern;

—Once the pattern of dependency was well established, the Government began to make attempts to rehabilitate the Indians with inconsistent and often abrupt changes in attitudes and policies; this behavior further increased the Indians' distrust of the Government and the white man generally and his alienation from them.

Forced confinement of unrelated groups, dependency and low self-esteem characterizes Fort Hall Indians. Diznang concludes:

> The Fort Hall population was unable to develop any binding sense of community and self-esteem and within this context family stability and cohesiveness began a slow process of deterioration * * * Thus, there has become built into the culture at this point strong negative forces which retard or prevent all but the very strongest to develop ego syntonic patterns that will allow for success.

That conclusion leaves little hope that the future will be better than the past. A comprehensive epidemiological study of suicide and other mental health problems of the Indian population is necessary in conjunction with ongoing efforts to treat the immediate problem. Constructive attempts at intervention will depend upon a closely coordinated effort of school, social, and law enforcement agencies to locate and treat disturbed individuals and families.

6. EDUCATION

A. VALUES AND ATTITUDES

> The young male initiate, probably between 12–14 years of age, made a long journey to a sacred place, where after fasting and praying, he received a vision in which he encountered his "guardian" or guide in spirit form, animal or otherwise. The young initiate closely identified with his spirit and thereby became a man. The tribal elders interpreted the vision to give the young man a guide for his life * * * Without such an experience, he was nothing. (Mont Faulkner, Tribal Secretary).
>
> The dilemma of these rebellious Indian youth would presumably be best understood as a rebellion against two communities, the Indian one and the white one, a desperate fight against a double set of values, Indian standard and white standard, without having a value system of their own (Sven Liljeblad, *Some Observations on the Fort Indian Reservation*, unpublished ms, April 1968).

The aboriginal Indian went through the religious rite of initiation to find his place in society. The modern Indian goes through the secular educational system to find that society has no place for him.

The highest value to which an aboriginal Indian boy could aspire was incorporation into his tribe with all the rights and responsibilities attendent on full membership. The highest value placed on the Indian child by many school systems is his JOM allocation.

Since the Indian child is a fast learner, he learns that the school is not structured to facilitate self-discovery, but group conformity. And since his group is assigned the lowest status in the school, he learns to lower his aspirations to the level of society's expectation of failure for his group.

The social assignment of failure to the Indian child is insidious. Witness the following statement from one of the school authorities:

> The person who would have to do this, would have to establish some pride. I think the Indian people have great pride in their tradition, in their history * * * I don't know if it's a result of recent history—I would probably say in the last 200 years, for some reason, they have lost pride as a result possibly of failure. I think we've got to instill in the Indian parents and in the Indian students pride. This goes back to the curriculum. We've got to get something that these children can succeed in, because they're used to expecting failure. If we can get something in which they can succeed. They have as much pride as anyone else. They have great pride in succeeding. They have to have the opportunity to succeed.

No mention is made of the school's failure in not providing the opportunity for success, although one administrator candidly states: "It is quite apparent that we are not meeting their needs."

Nevertheless, the child is learning what is expected of him in respect to group conformity. But even this is to the dismay of the school authorities.

> We have one thing I can't understand. That is, when there's one student that's getting ahead—is trying to achieve—the others drag him back. They shun him. Since he does not want to stand out as a particular person from the group, he drops back. That has got to be erased. I don't think it's part of the culture. It's an obstinate type of thing they have developed. We haven't been able to break it yet.

But it is part of the culture, and it derives from being broken before by authority. Dr. Liljeblad has noted the cultural phenomenon among the Shoshoni that discourages bravery and heroism in the observation, "Bravery backfires, but vigilance and caution pay off." He notes that the Shoshoni had only a brief period in which a young man with enterprise and bravery could move away from strong group control. That was in the period of the "horsetaker." As earlier noted, it led to the period of massive repression by U.S. troops. The Indians remember what they learn through experience!

Moreover, individual competition associated with modern education does not appeal to the Indian child. One administrator plaintively stated: "When you take the fun out of it, they lose interest. I suspect competition takes the fun out of it for the Indian students. They can't stand the pressure."

It would seem that the most effective way to reach the Indian children is through the group with methods based on an educational philosophy of group cooperation rather than individual competition. The Indian children themselves stepped in this direction last year when they created Indian clubs in the Blackfoot junior and senior high schools (a club is in the development stage at the Pocatello High School. Credit will be given for participation in the club). As one of the school authorities put it, "They wanted, call it what you will, group power. They wanted the chance to encourage each other to succeed. This is good, for they encourage each other when it comes from them."

Again, Dr. Liljeblad has provided the prescription for success:

> Most of them cannot make their way into the modern world one by one except by great effort, but have to do it together, as a group.

B. ENROLLMENT STATISTICS

In the school year 1967–68, 923 Indian students were enrolled in the three public school districts surrounding the Fort Hall Reservation and 41 were enrolled in BIA boarding schools. During that school year 27 students dropped out of the public and boarding schools.

Indian students comprise a relatively small percentage of the total student enrollment in each of the three districts. Blackfoot School District has the largest percentage of Indian students, 14 percent, or 543 students out of a total enrollment of 3,830. American Falls has 70 students out of a total enrollment of 1,406, or 5 percent, while Pocatello has 310 Indian students out of 12,109, or 3 percent. By comparison, the largest percentage of Indian students in any school district in the State of Idaho is Latewai school district where the Indian students comprise 42 percent of the total enrollment.

C. INDICES OF EDUCATIONAL PERFORMANCE

(*1.*) *Dropouts*

Severity of the Indian drop-out problem can best be determined by following the entering class of 1956–57 until graduation in 1967–68. In 1956–57, 74 Indian children entered the first grade of the three (combined) districts. In 1967–68, only 15 of those children graduated together from high school. In other words, 80 percent dropped-out along the way. This drop-out rate tended to increase dramatically after the 8th grade thus illustrating the cross-over phenomenon that has been documented in studies of Indian education, and attrition was particularly severe in their last or 12th year. Fifteen out of 29, or 50 percent, who entered the 12th grade in 1967–68 school year did not graduate. In Blackfoot, of the 21 children enrolled in the 12th grade of the Blackfoot High School, only 7 graduated, or a drop-out rate of 66⅔ percent for the year in this school alone. Of the eight children enrolled in the 12th grade in Pocatello and American Falls schools, however, all eight were graduated.

Thirty-six Indian children are in the 12th grade this year. This group represents what is left of 55 children who were enrolled in the 9th grade in 1965. In other words, approximately 35 percent of the 1965 9th graders had dropped out by December 1968. The *present* class of 9th graders has 53 students. They represent what remains of the 73 children enrolled in the 6th grade in 1965, a drop-out rate of 27 percent.

To determine what happens to the drop-out, a study made by the Education Department of the Fort Hall Agency identified 23 drop-outs over the period of time from 1964 to 1967. Of the 23, 12 were idle or engaged in no useful activity; 6 had been in trouble with the law; 1 had committed suicide while in school; 1 had died in an automobile accident while in school; only 3 had married or were engaged in a socially useful function.

School authorities interviewed about the drop-out problem seem reticent to recognize that such a problem exists. For example, one of the junior high school principals told the subcommittee staff:

> We don't have any drop-outs. Occasionally we may have a student that might get in trouble with the law for truancy or something like that and he might have to drop out of our school and go to St. Anthony's [the state correctional school], but we don't count that as a drop-out because they have a terrific educational program of their own up there.

On the whole, school officials tend to take a philosophical attitude. Most of them believe that when the Indian child reaches the age of 16, he is a drop-out candidate because the State no longer requires him to attend school. They perceive the Indian child as a captive of the school system, and, in a sense, they might be doing him a favor by allowing him to drop-out if he does not want to be in school in the first place.

One principal believes that the Indian students have no comprehension of science courses. He suggests that courses on nature should be added to the curriculum so that Indian students could study animals and do the things they really want to be doing while they are in school.

(2.) *Absenteeism*

In the opinion of school officials, drop-out problems are associated with the Indian students' high absentee rate and putative truancy. One vice principal in charge of attendance in his school estimated that Indians contribute 60 percent of the absenteeism in the school although they constitute only 14 percent of the student population. By checking the absentee figures, Subcommittee staff found that while the Vice Principal was correct in his estimate that the Indians comprised 14 percent of the student population, they contributed one-third of the absenteeism in the schools, not 60 percent. The preciseness of one statistic and the inaccuracy of the other are revealing of school officials' attitudes.

An analysis of figures provided by the State of Idaho indicates that the three school districts do not have the highest rate of Indian absenteeism in the state. In Lapwai School District, for instance, the 40 percent Indian student population accounts for 80 percent of the absenteeism. Indian students in the Blackfoot and Pocatello school districts total one-fifth of the student population and account for one-third of the absenteeism. Although only 16 percent of the Pocatello School District student population is Indian, they contribute twice that or 32 percent to the absentee rate. The only school district in which this pattern is reversed is American Falls. There the Indian students are 20 percent of the population but account for only 10 percent of the absenteeism.

From 1960 to 1966 the Education Department at Fort Hall Agency discovered two disturbing trends. First, since 1960 the number of absentee days have increased in both the Blackfoot and the American Falls District. Second, the number of absentee days tends to rise as the student advances in grade. In the Blackfoot district students are missing 6 more days or a week of school more in 1966 than they missed in 1960. In 1960, children in the off-reservation Fort Hall Elementary School only missed 9 days of school; in 1966 they missed 11. In 1960 the Blackfoot Senior High Indian student missed 19 days; and by 1966, 25 days, the equivalent of a full five weeks. In the American Falls District the same trend for senior high school students has occurred. In 1960 the senior high student missed 8 days of school. In 1965 he missed 29 days of school or more than 3½ times the number of days he missed in 1960.

Recognizing the seriousness of Indian absenteeism, the Blackfoot School District recently hired an Indian school counselor to keep track of students who are not attending school and to encourage parents to take responsibility for their children's attendance. The Indian counselor in the Blackfoot District does not perceive his role narrowly as that of a truant officer but rather believes that the students should be encouraged to stay in school and take advantage of the educational opportunity.

Whether the addition of the Counselor to the Blackfoot School District has alleviated the absentee problem cannot yet be determined. However, the Pocatello District had earlier added an Indian school counselor and the school attendance did improve. In 1960 the Indian high school student was missing almost 7 weeks of school; in 1966 he was missing just over 4 weeks. Not surprisingly, the rise in the number of days attended has been accompanied by an increased number of Indians graduating from high school.

(3.) *Grades*

The correlation between a decreasing attendance rate for the Indian student as he increases in grade and the grade level that he achieves is an interesting one. The Indian 7th grader, although missing a month of school, still achieves "C" or above in 64 percent of his course work. The 12th grader who misses 5 weeks of school gets "D" or below in 61 percent of his course work. But the correlation between attendance and grades breaks down upon analysis by subject matter. The Indian 7th grader gets "C" or above in physical education, shop, art, band, general music, choir, home economics, and writing. Seventy-one percent are graded "D" and below in science; 64 percent are graded "D" or below in math, and 49 percent are graded "D" or below in reading skills.

The Indian 8th grader in the 1966–67 school year missed on the average 5 days during the first semester. At the same time, 89 percent of the Indian students taking math received "D's" or below, and 68 percent had "D's" or below in reading skills and language arts.

By the time the Indian student enters the 9th grade, 84 percent earn D's or below in modern math; 92 percent "D" or below in general science; 82 percent "D" or below in general math; and 75 percent "D" or below in developmental English. By the tenth grade the Indian student has improved his score in modern math; 69 percent have "D" or below; in algebra 79 percent take "D" or below and 64 percent take "D" or below in biology. In the 11th grade, the Indian student is introduced to American history. By this time, as expected, 82 percent find themselves "D" or below while 74 percent receive "D" or below in developmental English, and 75 percent receive "D" or below in general science. Only in art are the Indian students able to make "C" or above with any regularity; 83 percent of them do. Those who survive the 11th grade and reach 12th grade find the same pattern of failure. Eighty-three percent receive "D" or below in English and 77 percent "D" or below in government. We are reminded of the school official who understated: "It is quite apparent that we are not meeting their needs!"

On the whole, school officials take the view that the Indian child is just putting in time until age 16. One official says, "If the Indians fulfill attendance requirements, and are attentive, then they will pass," and school officials admit that 90 percent of Indian children are socially promoted, (i.e., promoted each year regardless of grades). Indian parents reiterated knowledge of the same practice.

After age 16, schools are no longer required to retain Indian students: if they get three "F's" they are "pushed out." As one of the Indian parents said, "Some students have been ousted through this new ruling."

On one of its visits to Fort Hall, the Subcommittee staff interviewed the mother and father of an Indian boy who had not been attending school. The boy was turning 16 and his mother feared that he might attempt suicide. One of her six children had committed suicide in 1966. Another had attempted suicide in the summer of 1967. The boy in question had entered elementary school with undiagnosed double astigmatism. Although diagnosed by a doctor in the school system, nothing was done. The principal has told the parents they were a year behind in book fees, and although the school has a school lunch program, the parents were also paying for the child's lunch. Still, the parents say, "The teachers are real nice," and they want their children to attend public school because they "learn more."

(4.) *Teacher reports*

In spite of the parents faith in the teachers' good will toward their children, the Subcommittee staff found evidence that the teachers do not reciprocate these feelings about Indian children. The staff sampled permanent records of children in the school system's files and found the following comments to be representative of teacher opinion about Indian children. Comments go back in time until the early 1950's. Each line represents the opinion of a teacher after a year's evaluation of the student.

Child 1:

"A very rude child."
"Needs much discipline."
"Lazy and will lie."

Child 2:

"Careless in work."
"Extremely careless. Promoted on condition. Needs constant reminding and attention."
"Very careless. Can do better when he tries."

Child 3:

"Retained in third grade."
4th grade: "Too playful. Poor spelling and arithmetic."
5th grade: "Very poor student."
7th grade: "Poorly—he only occupies a seat in the room—does nil."

Child 4:

"Social promotion in second grade because of age."
3rd grade: "Social promotion."
6th grade: "Social promotion."
"Does nothing. Tries to cause disturbances. A nuisance."

Child 5:

"A good worker. Needs guidance in her work."
"Slow and lazy."

Child 6:

3rd grade: "A good third grade student. Has developed greatly."
4th grade: "Problem on the playground."
5th grade: "Poor student no initiative."

Child 7:

3rd grade: "Very good."
4th grade: "Good aptitude."
5th grade: "Very willing."
6th grade: "Average work."
7th grade: "Poor work makes no effort."

Although the teachers tend to assign the Indian students to social and school failure the guidance counselors tend to respect the Indian students' abilities. The counselor for Blackfoot, Idaho, School District 55 has found that Indian test scores are not as high as their mental abilities would indicate. He explains this by the observation that they are not working at the test:

> They go through marking yes and no in order to get through. I know they haven't read the tests. I know that they have the mental ability, but they haven't applied themselves to taking the tests. I don't know whether it's a mental block against taking the test. They have been given mental ability tests in the 3d and 4th grades and the 9th and 10th grades which indicate that their mental abilities are plus, but they do not perform this way on their testing.

He sees hope for the Indian student but is unable to define the means by which success will come:

> Some of these kids are next door to brilliant—capable, ambidextrous, bi-lingual. Lots of hidden talent. But I don't

> know how you can motivate them. I am sure somebody will. But it's too bad that it isn't done sooner.

Finally, in a statement that calls to mind Liljeblad's prescription for group success, the counselor says:

> We have kids who do well on the first round of grades, but the next time the grades come out, they are down there with the rest of them. They want to be part of the group.

(5.) Standardized testing

In a comprehensive study of the testing program for Indian students in 1961, Dr. Ray M. Berry of the University of Idaho made the following observations about Fort Hall Indian students:

> 1. Shoshone-Bannock Indian children rate below their non-Indian counterparts on practically every standardized test. (However, in the particular survey done by Berry, Indian children living in Pocatello equal or approach very close to national norms.)
>
> 2. On tests of academic achievement the Indian student gets progressively further behind the longer he continues in school. At the 6th grade level, the median of all Indian children was at the 17th percentile for the class. At the 8th grade level it had dropped to the 10th percentile. In other words half of the Indian children in the 8th grade at Blackfoot were in the lowest 10 percent of the class as a whole.

Berry indicates that this lag is extremely serious since the 15th percentile is the median for any normal group. He states:

> If the brightest Indian children lag this far behind their non-Indian classmates then there is something seriously wrong with the eduactional programs they are receiving.

The gap between Indian students and non-Indian students is particularly evident in the results of the California achievement tests and the Iowa test of basic skills. Tests given in 1965 in the Blackfoot School District reveal that 92 percent of 6th grade Indian students taking the California achievement tests score below the norm. By way of contrast, 67 percent of all students score above the norm in the 6th grade tests and 62 percent score above the norm in the 8th grade group tested.

Iowa tests of basic skills were given in American Falls School Districts in 1968. Although the total number of students is too small to be statistically significant, the results nevertheless confirm Berry's findings; namely, the higher the grade the wider the gap becomes.

COMPOSITE SCORES—IOWA TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS, AMERICAN FALLS, 1968

	Grade level				
	3	4	5	6	
Indian	2.8	3.5	3.93	4.71	5.0
Class average	4.2	5.08	5.6	6.5	7.4

INDIAN SCORES—IOWA TESTS OF BASIC SKILLS, AMERICAN FALLS, 1968

	Grade level—				
	3	4	5	6	7
Vocabulary	2.43	3.01	2.80	4.33	5.9
Spelling	2.87	3.42	3.47	4.49	5.0
Reading comprehension	2.93	3.25	3.96	4.61	4.5
Language usage	2.82	3.22	3.14	4.16	4.4

D. TEXTBOOK BIAS

Dr. Deward E. Walker, a professor of anthropology at the University of Idaho, undertook in late 1968 a review of the 126 basic texts used in Idaho's elementary and secondary social science and literature courses. He discovered, as listed below—

> 10 highly patterned and repetitive sterotypes of the Indian revealed in these texts:
>
> 1. Although the Indian provided Euro-Americans with many domesticated food and medicinal plants, geographic knowledge of the continent, and other important tools, his highest civilizations (the Aztec, Inca, and Maya) were easily conquered by small groups of military adventurers.
> 2. The recent history of the Indian has been one of steady decline, whereas that of the Euro-Americans has been one of almost continuous progress.
> 3. The Indian voluntarily obstructed creation of the United States, co-operating with such enemies of the infant States as the British and French.
> 4. The Indians' resistance to Euro-American settlement of the United States was largely unjustified.
> 5. The Indian "massacred" many defenseless pioneer women and children.
> 6. Although "bad" Indians resisted Euro-American settlement of the United States, a few "good" Indians cooperated in various ways.
> 7. The Indian is intrinsically noble and almost perfectly virtuous in his bravery, friendship, and honesty.
> 8. The Indian is sly, vicious, barbaric, superstitious, and destined to extinction (cultural, if not biological).
> 9. The Indian naturally (sometimes "instinct" is used here) prefers the life of a hunter and gatherer to "civilization."
> 10. The Indian is inarticulate, backward, and is often unable to adjust well to modern Euro-American culture.

Dr. Walker continues:

> This list could be lengthened. In my opinion the main point is its obviously negative character. Certainly there are occasional positive elements in the stereotypes, but their net effect is either to (1) alienate the Indian student from Euro-Americans and their culture, or (2) to alienate him

> from his own culture. Obviously, either reaction has disasterous implications.

According to Dr. Walker the literature and reading texts present the Indian in a more favorable light than do the social studies texts. In his opinion, the basic reason for the failure of social studies texts is the inadequate training of education professionals and others who author them. He also points out that the texts he reviewed contained practically nothing on the contemporary Indian or his acculturation:

> Of course, they contain very detailed descriptions of contemporary Euro-American society. Thus, if the Indian student manages to identify with the texts at all, it is in terms of an anachronistic identity. Needless to say, this also impedes his adjustment to contemporary Euro-American society.

E. PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

The degree of parental involvement in the public schools is limited. No Indian serves on the school boards in the three districts. No school board meetings have been held on the reservation. When queried why not, school officials replied, "No one had ever thought of that." They expressed the opinion that it would be desirable to hold a school board meeting on the reservation in the near future.

Typically, the only contact that parents have with the school system comes when their child is disciplined. Meetings for positive purposes are seldom held. Moreover, the prevailing attitude among school administrators in regard to such meetings is paternalistic even though they express a positive attitude toward greater participation by Indian parents in the schools.

The Subcommittee found that the Education Committee under the direction of Mrs. Joyce Hernandez displayed readiness to encourage a greater degree of parental participation in the schools. Mrs. Hernandez accompanied the staff on visits to superintendents and principals of representative schools, and also arranged interviews with parents.

F. SPECIAL SERVICES

There are no special services in the public schools for Indian students. Remedial reading classes and counselling services are available but are not targeted for Indians. Administrators admit, however, that Indians "tend to wind-up in these special classes."

Classes are organized on the basis of a three-track program with three levels. Indians tend to be classified at the third level of the third track.

School officials have not yet perceived the need to treat the Indian education problem in a direct manner. Rather, they treat the Indian student's problem in the context of the typical problem student. According to school officials, Indian participation in remedial classes results in a one-grade point raise—typically from F to D. A ludicrous example of treating the Indian "just like any other student," which has a most unequal result, is the case of the Indian boy placed in the mechanics program. He winds up as clean-up boy!

As for guidance and counseling personnel, the typical large school has two personnel on a half-time basis, and a clinical psychologist at the disposal of the schools system. These resources are too limited to do more than identify symptomatic behavior. Furthermore, limited time for counseling precludes the intensive treatment that deeply disturbed children require.

Perhaps the most effective counseling provided under the auspices of the public schools is by the Indian liaison officer, an ex-VISTA worker. He visits the children and parents in their homes and heads off trouble before it is brought to school. Through personal, meaningful contact he has had a tremendous impact on the young people of the Reservation, and some observers believe that he is responsible for the prevention of a number of suicide attempts. One Indian parent has said about him: "He took an interest in the Indian—that's the main thing—to take an interest in the Indian. A lot of others don't."

G. BOARDING SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Forty-one students from the Fort Hall Reservation attended Federal Boarding Schools during the 1968–69 school year, as follows: Chilocco, Okla., 9; Chemawa, Oreg., 2; Concho, Okla., 9; Fort Sill, Okla., 5; Riverside, Okla., 6; Stewart, Nev., 10.

The forty-one students comprise only a small portion of the total Fort Hall Student population of 694 and the number has decreased over the past five years: 69, 70, 52, 40, and 41, respectively; approximately a 50-percent decrease. For the school years 1964–68, the school drop-out rate has also decreased: 14, 17, 10, 4, and 4, respectively.

According to the criteria used by the BIA to determine boarding school eligibility, the students from Fort Hall are distributed as follows:

> Students unable to relate to a family setting and must reside in a group setting: 17.
>
> Students that would be emotionally better adjusted in a school with their own racial group: 13.
>
> Students that have a poor home environment and are lacking parental control: 11.

Parents have expressed dissatisfaction with these criteria, and contend that placement in boarding schools on social grounds leaves their children with a stigma. Furthermore, since boarding schools have neither the personnel nor the facilities to deal with the students' social problems, boarding school placement for social or psychological problems by the Fort Hall social services branch is highly questionable to say the least.

The drop-out rate from boarding schools has concerned the agency for years and social workers from the agency have visited students to try to alleviate the homesickness and other conditions that produce dropping out. However, there has been a drift in agency philosophy about the preferability of boarding school to public school. Compare the comments of the directors of social services after two different visits in 1965 and 1967:

> After completing the tour (in 1965), it becomes much easier to empathize with a student who is homesick among the other 1,200 students, 160 buildings, 500 white face Herefords, and 8,900 acres when he is over one thoasand miles from home. We next met the excellent guidance staff which helps the student cope with his problems.
>
> * * *
>
> We learned that our students live in cottages of from 170 to 190 students per cottage (at Chilocco).
>
> * * *
>
> From this meeting (in 1967) I returned strengthened in my convictions that children should be educated locally. We will continue to screen carefully all applications for boarding schools emphasizing the desirability of continuing their education in local schools unless there are prohibiting social reasons.[5]

H. SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Branch of Education files cover the post-high school Indian enrollment and graduation records from the 1964–65 through 1968–69 school year. Of the forty-eight Indians enrolled in academic and vocational-technical courses, fourteen have completed their courses. Thirty of these students were enrolled in college courses which four completed while nineteen were enrolled in vocational-technical courses with ten completions.

Seventeen young people from the Fort Hall Reservation are presently enrolled in colleges and universities of whom nine are freshmen. Three students may graduate at the end of the 1968–69 school year. Four persons are receiving vocational and technical training under P.L. 959 at Idaho State University; three are enrolled as undergraduates in the Institute of American Indian Arts.

Fort Hall residents believe that vocational training should be more accessible. The Chairman of the Health and Welfare Committee has said:

> They wouldn't accept our students at Haskell unless they had pretty good grades, B average. It seems a shame for a student to finish 12 years and not be able to do what he wants to do. We need a vocational school in the Northwest; Snake River is for non-Indians.

I. SUMMARY

Indian education at Fort Hall looks little different from Indian education elsewhere. High drop-out rates and barely passing grades for students who do stay in school dramatically highlight the failure of the public schools to serve the Indian children and youth with whose education, and future, they have been entrusted. Curriculum irrelevance, language barriers, and special difficulties faced by student from a different culture in the Anglo school are all present here and have all been noted in other parts of this report as well. In addition, the analysis of Indian stereotypes found in State-used textbooks, discussed earlier, provides specific demonstration of the inability of the schools to handle satisfactorily the confrontation between and the education of students from different cultural backgrounds. One wonders whether a similar analysis of texts in other States would not reveal the same stereotypic orientation.

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[5] For a more complete treatment of the issues and problems surrounding Indian boarding school education, see the Navajo report.

The greatest tragedy of Fort Hall, however, lies in the contrast between the Reservation's resource potential and the stark reality of poverty culture. Certainly, the addition of bi-cultural emphases in the curriculum, changes in the training and orientation of teachers, involving Indians in the schools as teacher-aides and as concerned parents and other changes needed in Indian education elsewhere are needed here too. But equally if not more needed are economic opportunities that students can see, can aspire to, and can learn for. The social disorganization, the agony and desperation that produce a suicide rate ten times the national average will not be alleviated by educational reform alone.

J. FINAL NOTE

Idaho State University has done an excellent job of providing assistance and working towards solutions of various problems on the Reservation. In addition the University provides services such as Upward Bound, which has done an excellent job of tutoring Indian children for college entrance.

The President of Idaho State University envisions an increased role for the university in developing the educational resources on the reservation. In the near future it is proposed that lodge schools be established within walking distance of homes. Indian parent participants would assist teaching assistants from the university. Moreover, these lodges could serve as community centers providing facilities for adult education.

The lodge system was in effect at Fort Hall during the Collier Administration and is remembered with great respect by the Indian people. Parents express high positive regard for this idea. Their support of the VISTA pre-school experiment demonstrates the feasibility of locating such an educational institution on the reservation. Of course, the success of this venture depends on the provision of reliable and suitable transportation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs should assure that an adequate supply of safe and reliable vehicles be provided and maintained for use by these schools.

D. Field Report—California

1. INTRODUCTION

This report will describe the Indian population of California, the nature and effectiveness of Indian education in California, special programs and problems, and recommendations for further study. Information is based on—

1. Testimony obtained at a Subcommittee hearing in San Francisco, January 4, 1968.
2. Visits of Subcommittee members and staff to the Hoopa and Kashia reservations and to Sherman Institute in January and in October, 1968.
3. Literature about the Indian and Indian education in California.
4. Correspondence and interviews with representatives of federal, state, and local organizations.

2. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

California today has one of the largest Indian populations of any state in the nation, but the Indian is a lost and neglected citizen. His social, economic and educational needs have long gone unmet and he stands the lowest of any ethnic group in terms of employment, income, health, sanitation and housing, and education. Diverse groups of Indians include some who maintain Indian traditions and live apart, some who live apart as separate ethnic groups but who have lost touch with past history and Indian culture, and some who live in urban areas and have varying degrees of tribal or ethnic identification. In all, they are an invisible and forgotten poor whose needs, desires, and rights have been neglected or denied by Federal, State and local governments.

Estimates of the number of Indians in the state are difficult to make. The recognized difficulty of population counts of any ethnic group is complicated by the high mobility of the Indians as a result of relocation of out-of-state reservation Indians to California urban areas. The California Commission on Indian Affairs estimate of the 1964 population is probably the most reliable for that year.

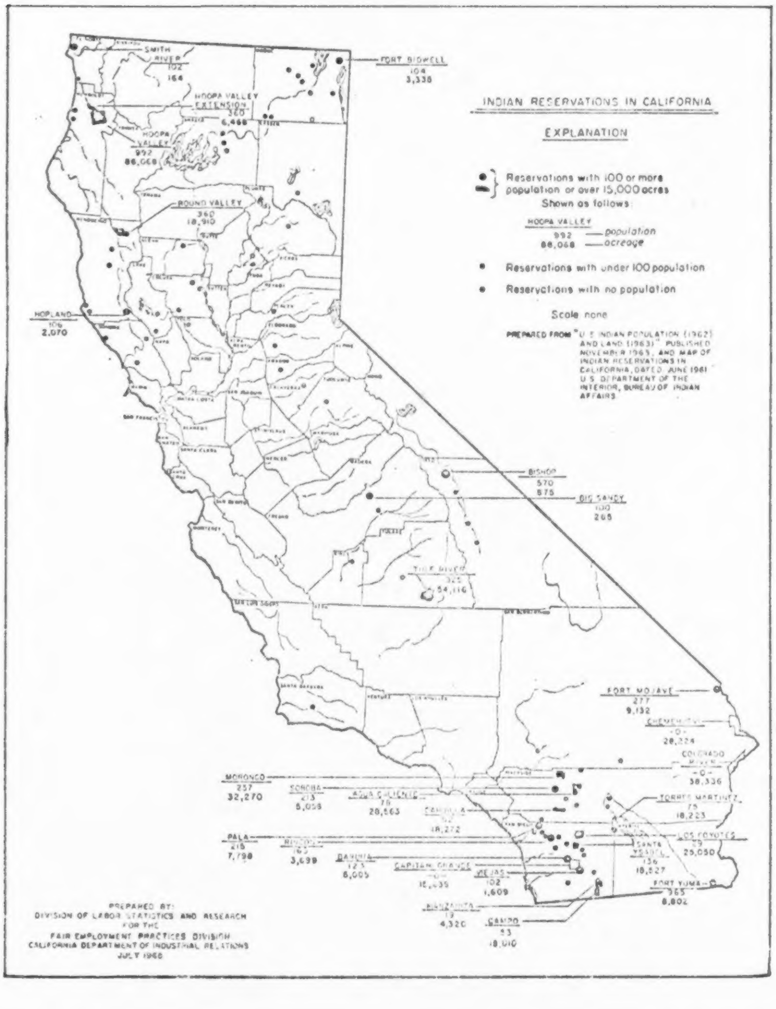
Table I.—Estimated Indian population in California

Urban areas:	
San Francisco Bay area	12,000–15,000
Los Angeles area	23,000–25,000
Other urban areas (Redding, Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, Barstow, Bakersfield.)	10,000
Total urban population	45,000
Rural areas:	
Reservations and rancherias	7,000
Areas adjacent to reservations and rancherias or within same rural county	24,000
Total rural population	31,000
Grand total	76,000

Current estimates suggest that the total Indian population may be as high as 12,000.

Seventy-six reservations and rancherias lie in 25 of California's 58 counties; for the most part, in remote, isolated areas (see map). Several consist of less than one acre; 30 have 50 acres or less; and only 13 have more than 10,000 acres. (There are also about 218 public domain allotments, made originally to individuals, but in most cases now held by their heirs). Several of the reservations or rancherias are not occupied; 27 have a population of 10 or less; only one has a population in excess of 1,000. In 1963, the median population of rancherias and reservations was 30; the average population, 67.

The distribution of the native Indian population varies widely within the state. Slightly more than twice as many rural Indians live north of San Francisco as live south of it. In the northern part of the state, they cluster within Indian communities in the Eureka area, Redding, Sacramento, Santa Rosa, Clear Lake, and near the Klamath River. Settlement in the central and southern parts of the state is sparser but again tends to occur in a few clusters, the main centers of Indian population being the Palm Springs area and the area northeast of San Diego.


INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN CALIFORNIA
EXPLANATION
Reservations with 100 or more population or over 15,000 acres
Shown as follows:
HOOPA VALLEY
992 — population
88,068 — acreage
● Reservations with under 100 population
● Reservations with no population
Scale none
PREPARED FROM "U.S. INDIAN POPULATION (1962) AND LAND (1963)" PUBLISHED NOVEMBER 1963, AND MAP OF INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN CALIFORNIA, DATED JUNE 1961 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
SMITH RIVER 102 164
FORT BIDWELL 104 3,338
HOOPA VALLEY EXTENSION 360 6,468
HOOPA VALLEY 992 88,068
ROUND VALLEY 360 18,910
HOPLAND 106 2,070
BISHOP 570 875
BIG SANDY 100 265
TULE RIVER 325 54,116
FORT MOJAVE 277 9,132
CHEMEHUEVI -0- 28,224
COLORADO RIVER -0- 38,336
MORONGO 237 32,270
SOBOBA 213 5,056
AGUA CALIENTE 76 28,563
CAHUILLA 32 18,272
TORRES MARTINEZ 75 18,223
PALA 215 7,798
RINCON 163 3,699
BARONA 123 6,005
CAPITAN GRANDE -0- 15,435
VIEJAS 102 1,609
LOS COYOTES 29 25,050
SANTA YSABEL 136 15,527
FORT YUMA 365 8,802
MANZANITA 13 4,320
CAMPO 53 15,010
PREPARED BY:
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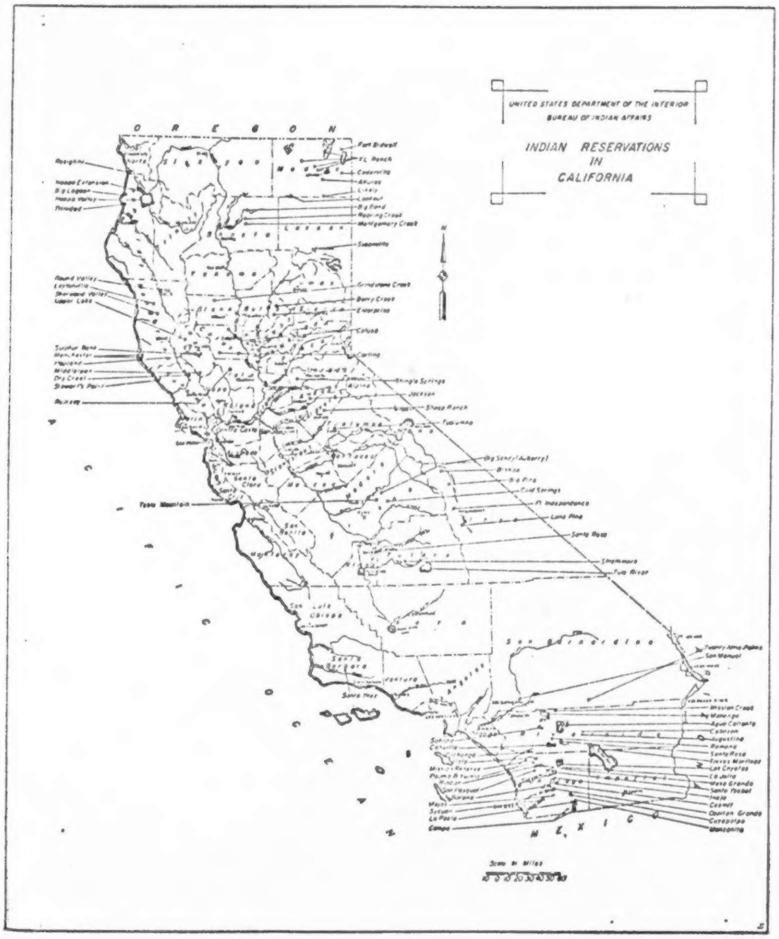
FOR THE
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES DIVISION
CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
JULY 1966


UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
INDIAN RESERVATIONS
IN
CALIFORNIA
OREGON
Fort Bidwell
XL Ranch
Cedarville
Alturas
Likely
Lookout
Big Bend
Roaring Creek
Montgomery Creek
Susanville
Greenville
Berry Creek
Enterprise
Colusa
Colfax
Resighini
Hoopa Extension
Big Lagoon
Hoopa Valley
Trinidad
Round Valley
Laytonville
Sherwood Valley
Upper Lake
Sulphur Bank
Manchester
Point Arena
Middletown
Dry Creek
Stewart's Point
Rumsey
Shingle Springs
Jackson
Sheep Ranch
Tuolumne
Big Sandy (Auberry)
Bishop
Big Pine
Cold Springs
Ft. Independence
Lone Pine
Santa Rosa
Shoshone
Tule River
Tejon Mountain
San Bernardino
Twenty Nine Palms
San Manuel
Mission Creek
Morongo
Agua Caliente
Cabazon
Augustine
Ramona
Santa Rosa
Torres Martinez
Los Coyotes
La Jolla
Mesa Grande
Santa Ysabel
Inaja
Cosmit
Capitan Grande
Cuyapaipe
Manzanita
Soboba
Cahuilla
Pechanga
Pala
Mission Reserve
Pauma & Yuima
Rincon
San Pasqual
Barona
Viejas
Sycuan
La Posta
Campo
MEXICO
Santa Barbara
Ventura
Santa Ynez
Santa Clara
Scale in Miles

In describing the California Indian, a distinction must be made between the native or indigenous California Indian and the out-of-state Indian. The native Indian population is currently estimated to be between 50 and 60,000. Of that number, about 10,000 are believed to have migrated to urban areas; 7,000 to 8,000 live on reservations or rancherias; and the remaining 40–50,000 live near the trust lands or in the same rural county.

It has been said that it requires a special resolve to discover the rural Indian of California. He lives off the main roads, inaccessible to public view. Mainly, he lives in small clusters, in tattered shacks; typically, he is without adequate and sanitary water; often, he is without electricity and indoor plumbing. Above all, he is educationally disadvantaged, and he well understands the place in American society relegated for those with little or no education.

3. HISTORY AND TERMINATION

The fact that the California Indian never received an adequate land base from the federal government partially explains his residence in remote rural areas scattered throughout the State. Today, only about 15% of California Indians live on federal trust lands. The lack of a land base is not only an economic disaster, but has affected the eligibility of the majority of California Indians for participation in federal educational programs and has served as justification for termination of other programs.

Rights of citizenship were denied the Indian in the first California Constitution adopted in 1849. In the early 1850's, the Indian land rights which had been partially retained or protected during the Spanish and Mexican reigns became decimated. 18 treaties to establish reservations were negotiated with California tribes in 1851, but in 1852, the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the treaties and the reserved lands were exploited. It was not until 1928 that Congress enacted the California Indian Jurisdictional Act (45 Stat. 602) which allowed Indians to submit "all claims of whatsoever nature which any tribes or bands of Indians of California may have against the U.S. * * * to the Court of Claims for determination * * *" and recognized the failure to secure the land and goods guaranteed in the 18 treaties as sufficient grounds for suit. Although a weak, limited and inadequate measure, it did permit some initial action. The case was initiated in 1929, but it took almost 2 decades or until 1944. Indians were awarded a judgment which has been described as "a shrewd bargain for the federal government and another fleecing for the Indian."

In 1946, Congress authorized the creation of an Indian Claims Commission to deal with remaining claims of Indian groups. Final settlement of the suit initiated in 1947 as a result of this Act was made by the Commission in 1965. Per capita distribution of the award still awaits congressional legislation and a new census to determine all who are eligible. Again the settlement appears unsatisfactory; it suffers from legal and procedural liabilities, as did the 1944 settlement. The procedures followed in reaching settlement have not only raised significant constitutional questions, but have served to deepen factions among Indians in the state.

In the last half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, a limited number of small tracts of land were set aside for particular groups of Indians, and a limited number of reservations were also established. But pressure to terminate the trust land status still enjoyed by a minority of California Indians was again applied in the 1950's. In 1947, the BIA was instructed by Congress to present a list of Indian groups ready for termination of federal supervision; California Indians were near the top of the list. In 1957, the California Senate Committee on Indian Affairs recommended termination legislation and several bills were introduced; in 1958, one of these bills, P.L. 85-671, was passed.

This law, known as the Rancheria Act, unilaterally designated 41 rancherias for termination. It specified that tribal corporations, perhaps the only feasible units for Indian economic development, were to be abolished by fiat. It transferred the internal affairs of tribal corporations to the Secretary of Interior and Congress for the transitional period and prevented those organizations from controlling their own membership rolls. And, it called for all reservation property to be sold or divided into individual parcels, with none being held in corporate ownership. The result of course, has been that Indians with little cash income have been forced to sell or lease their individual parcels.

In 1964, the enactment of P.L. 88–419, extended the provisions of the Rancheria Termination Act of 1958 to all reservations and rancherias lying wholly within state boundaries. This amendment did at least provide that termination could only occur with concurrence of the majority of the distributees and the Secretary of Interior. Eleven reservations or rancherias in addition to the 41 specified in the original act have been or are now in the process of termination.

The federal policy of termination of California Indians has been described as follows by the Indian Services Division of California Rural Legal Assistance Inc.:

> The government seems to have pursued this policy almost fanatically, in a blind rush to cut the Indians loose from its protection and benefits, no matter how harsh the effects on them * * * Still the federal government continues to pursue the termination policy indiscriminately and relentlessly, inducing the Indians to terminate by unfulfilled promises and in proceedings shot through with legal irregularity.

Few viable tribal organizations now exist although California Indians are beginning to assert themselves as "Indians," forming associations, encouraging the establishment of meaningful, positive and important ethnic identity. Examples of Indian initiative will be discussed in the last section of this report.

4. THE URBAN INDIAN

A. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Following World War II, significant numbers of out-of-state Indians migrated to urban areas of California. Participation in military service and defense-oriented industrial employment opportunities helped stimulate the movement. The Relocation Act of 1956 (P.L. 959) redesignated the Employment Assistance Program in 1962, provided further impetus to the movement.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Employment Assistance reports that the following numbers have been serviced through California branches of the Employment Assistance Office since the programs were initiated.

ADULT VOCATIONAL TRAINING AND DIRECT EMPLOYMENT SERVICES—SUMMARY OF ARRIVALS

	Adult vocational training, 1958-68 [1]		Direct employment, 1952-68	
	Single or family units	Total persons	Single or family units	Total persons
Los Angeles	3,528	5,757	8,710	17,828
Oakland	2,582	3 869	2,736	5,984
San Francisco	714	1,152	2,004	4,089
San Jose	1,029	1,575	2,020	4,084
Total	7,853	12,353	15,470	31,985

[1] The adult vocational training program was not initiated until 1958. The San Francisco office was terminated in 1965.

Even if, as the Bureau has estimated, 35% of those that they relocate return to their reservations, the impact of the relocation program remains significant. At least an equal number are estimated to relocate voluntarily.

As previously noted, the urban Indian population in 1964 was conservatively estimated to be 45,000. It is significantly greater today as a result of a natural population increase and continuing in-migration. Of those states with a sizable Indian population (in excess of 10,000 in 1960), only California and North Carolina showed a percentage increase in population between 1950 and 1960.

TABLE 2.—AMERICAN INDIAN POPULATION IN STATES WITH INDIAN POPULATION IN EXCESS OF 10,000 AND PERCENT OF U.S. INDIAN TOTAL POPULATION

	Number	Percent, 1950	Number	Percent, 1960
Alaska	[1] 14,089		42,518	7.7
Arizona	65,761	18.4	83,387	15.1
California	19,947	5.6	39,014	7.1
Minnesota	12,533	3.5	15,496	2.8
Montana	16,606	4.6	21,181	3.8
New Mexico	41,901	11.7	56,255	10.2
New York	10,640	3.0	16,491	3.0
North Carolina	3,742	1.0	38,129	6.9
North Dakota	10,766	3.0	11,736	2.1
Oklahoma	53,769	15.0	64,689	11.7
South Dakota	23,344	6.5	25,794	4.7
Washington	13,816	3.9	21,076	3.8
United States	357,499	100.0	551,669	100.0

[1] Included only Athabaskans.

Between 1950 and 1960, the California Indian population increased at a rate double that of the total state population. The rural Indian population increased by 1.8% from 1940 to 1950 and by 23.8% from 1950 to 1960. During the same period the urban Indian population increased in 1950 by 24.9% and in 1960 by 304.8%. More significant is the creation of new urban centers of population with educational problems different from those in the rural areas. Relocation center counties (San Francisco, San Jose, Oakland, Los Angeles) increased an average of 81 percent from 1940 to 1950 and 301.1 percent from 1950 to 1960. Peripheral counties, which surround the relocation centers increased an average of 115.9% from 1940 to 1950 and 253 percent from 1950 to 1960.

During this period of rapid population increase, ironically, the level of service provided by the Federal government has, with exception of the Employment Assistance program, been greatly curtailed.

Out-of-state Indians have tended to move into low cost and low rental housing, producing ghetto areas in the central city. About 75% of the Indians live in an area that extends from the central part of Los Angeles for several miles to the south and southeast, the major low rental district in Los Angeles. While Indians do not predominate in numbers over non-Indians in any town or suburb within the Los Angeles area, there are particular apartment houses, boarding houses, and neighborhoods that are predominately Indian, occasionally or related tribes, a single tribe, or even related families. A similar situation exists in San Francisco with Indians concentrated in central city areas in San Francisco (4,000), Oakland (4,000), and San Jose (2,000).

A 1966 study estimated state origin of Indians within the Los Angeles area as follows:

	Percent
Arizona	14.7
Oklahoma	24.8
South Dakota	9.1
New Mexico	8.2
Montana	6.5
California	5.9
North Dakota	5.5

This same study showed the following percentage breakdown by tribal origin:

	Percent
Navajo	14.1
Sioux	12.0

A 1964 study in the San Francisco Bay Area estimated that the largest numbers of the 10,000 Indians in that area were from the Navajo, Sioux, and Turtle Mountain Chippewa tribes.

While limited numbers of tribes and areas of the U.S. have contributed the majority of Indians to the California urban population complex, it is important to point out that approximately 100 different tribal groups are represented within the California urban Indian population.

B. GENERAL CONDITIONS

The problems faced by the reservation Indian when coming to the city are formidable. As Berry has said:

> The obstacles are well-nigh insurmountable when the migrant comes from a rural background, has a limited knowledge of English, is poorly educated, lacks marketable skills, and holds to a value system which conflicts with that of the urban society. Small wonder, then, that many Indians choose to return to the poverty of their reservations, despite the higher income, conveniences, and attractions of the city.

Very few studies have been made of the Indian in urban areas. Ablon has studied Indians in the San Francisco Bay Area; Price has studied Indians in Los Angeles, and studies of Indians in Chicago and Minneapolis are also part of the literature. Increasing concern about the California urban Indian has however, been evidenced by the actions of the Ad Hoc Committee which submitted to the subcommittee a statement regarding the problems of the urban Indian (See Appendix H), and by a December, 1968, public hearing conducted by the President's Commission on Indian Affairs. Far more research is needed, however, about the problems of education in the newly evolving Indian communities of the urban areas.

Although some Indians adjust satisfactorily to urban life, considerable criticism has been leveled against the BIA and its relocation program for its failure to provide adequate orientation to the reservation Indian moving to the urban area. Martin and Leon, reporting to the Subcommittee on the relocation of Alaskan natives, viewed the general Bureau relocation program as follows:

> Several forces are operating which tend to compound the inherent difficulties of aiding this migration. First, past relationships between the Federal Government and Indians have fostered feelings of dependency on the part of the Indians. They feel entitled to, and indeed that they need, the benefits provided by the Government. At the same time, Indians, like everyone else, do not like to feel dependent and often react unintentionally with hostility toward those on whom they are dependent. During relocation, economic and psychological dependency becomes temporarily greater causing heightened conflict with Indians.
>
> Out of these conditions, and coupled with the decay of the Indian's original socio-cultural heritage, has come a degree of personal disorganization and a sense of psychological defeat. A final consequence is a relatively high level of hostility directed by the Indian toward the government and its representatives; this hostility often manifests itself through passive-aggressive behavior. To be sure, not all Indians are characterized by these features; however, the general pattern is sufficiently pervasive to warrant recognition and to suggest the desirability of seeking ways to overcome the negative results which flows from them.

Another observer, Berry, indicates that some Indians succeed in making a satisfactory adjustment to city life, and a few become so entirely committed to it that they develop a dislike of the reservation and all that it stood for. Nevertheless—

> For most Indians who have moved to the city, the situation is far from pleasant. Assimilation is normally a long and painful process, and there is no reason to doubt that in time Indians * * * will adjust and assimilate just as Irish, Polish, Italian and countless others have done. In the meantime, the research available on the urban Indian pictures him as alienated, insecure, lonesome, poorly housed, disorganized, highly mobile, frequently arrested, and victimized by alcohol. Despite the fact that they are financially better off, most relocatees * * * would return home to their reservations * * * if they could find employment there.

No wonder as many as one-third of the relocates give up and return home, while still others move back and forth, being relocated several times in some cases. Others end up on welfare roles.

The significant result of the relocation program has been the creation of a new kind of Indian life. Partial retention of tribal orientation has been possible through local clubs and organizations. Nevertheless, the growth of a new sub-culture group within the urban society poses problems to all concerned.

5. Federal Programs in California

A. WITHDRAWAL OF PROGRAMS

While the Federal Government has been devising new programs to assist the Indian and while Congressional expenditures for Indian education have increased significantly since World War II, these benefits have not accrued to California Indians. The withdrawal in the late 1940's and early 1950's of the already minimal Federal assistance which California Indians then received has been well documented by the Indian Services Division, California Rural Legal Assistance.[10]

Responsibility for Indian health was reassigned from the BIA to the U.S. Public Health Service in July, 1955. Although the Federal program in California was never large, even that was phased out by the Public Health Service, and California Indians now are eligible for the same medical services as other California residents.[11]

The Federal government discontinued its minimal welfare assistance to California Indians in 1952, and, in 1955, a subsidy to the California State Department of Mental Hygiene was also discontinued.

Meaningful Federal assistance for education was also terminated. At one time, the Bureau operated both day and boarding schools for native Indians of California. The day schools were closed in the 1920's following judicial determination that non-reservation Indians were entitled to attend California public schools. Sherman Institute, a Bureau boarding school in Riverside, California, was closed to California Indians in 1948. All other boarding schools, except Santa Fe, were closed to California Indians after World War II. California Indian eligibility for BIA scholarships was also terminated at that time. Since then, all Indian students have attended state schools.

B. THE JOHNSON-O'MALLEY PROGRAM

The Johnson-O'Malley Program, one of the major Federal programs designed to improve educational programs for Indian students, has been unavailable to the California Indian student since 1958. This program, authorized in April, 1934 (48 Stat. 596) and amended June 4, 1936 (49 Stat. 1458) provides financial aid to states for educational programs for Indians residing on or near trust lands. The act directs states to use Johnson-O'Malley funds for programs specifically directed towards special unmet needs of the Indian student.

California, the first state to enter into a contract with the BIA under this act, received an annual appropriation of $318,500 from 1935 to 1953, or 12% of the total Federal Johnson-O'Malley appropriation of about $2,600,000. In 1953, the Federal Government began to phase out California Johnson-O'Malley programs and the program was completely terminated in 1958.

The decision to phase California out of the Johnson-O'Malley program was finalized at an adminstrative level by representatives of the State Department of Education and of the BIA in 1953. Events leading to the final decision were described by the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs. The Commission reported that a principal reason was a belief, on the part of both the BIA and the State, that the Federal Government would terminate all services and programs in the 1950's as expressed in HCR 108 which specifically named California Indians. Other reasons included the fact that California had assumed the responsibility for providing equal education for California Indian students, that California Indian students were "better off" than Indians in other parts of the United States, a belief that funds under PL 815 and 874 would adequately replace the Johson-O'Malley program, and confusion as to the wishes of the Indians.

At the time of the 1953 decision, California legislators, state Indian leaders, and the State Department of Education protested, thus preventing the deletion of the California contract funds for fiscal year 1953–54. But, as the California Commission pointed out,

> This proved to be only a temporary setback in the drive to separate California Indians from the benefits of the Johnson-O'Malley program. In 1953, the Sacramento Area Office of the BIA informed the Superintendent of Public Instruction that fiscal year 1954 would be the last year of the Johnson-O'Malley contract for California. At this meeting, the BIA representatives stated that California Indians would soon be terminated; consequently, the BIA in California would be closed down in five years * * * The representatives of the California State Department of Education at (this) meeting protested that an immediate withdrawal of contract funds might prove harmful to certain school districts and suggested instead a gradual withdrawal of the Johnson-O'Malley program. This, then, was agreed upon: a reduction of $50,000 a year until the program was completely phased out.

In the years since, the assumptions on which the decision to phase out the Johnson-O'Malley funds was made have been proved false. All California Indians have not been terminated and the termination program is no longer being pursued. Public Law 874 funds have not been used to replace the former program for Indian education, nor has the "equal education" provided by the state met the needs of the Indian student.

In fiscal year 1967 Congress appropriated nearly 9,500,000 dollars for Johnson-O'Malley contract programs. Thus between 1953, when California began to be phased out of participation, and 1967, the total funding increased from $2,582,645 to $9,500,000. The fiscal 1967 distribution of Johnson-O'Malley funds is seen in the following chart.

States receiving Johnson-O'Malley aid ranked by Indian population[1]

Arizona ($3,004,000)	83, 387
Oklahoma ($500,000)	64, 689
New Mexico ($1-,401,925)	56, 255
California ($000,000)	39, 047
South Dakota ($630,000)	25, 794
Montana ($107,000)	21, 181
Washington ($102,751)	21, 076
Minnesota ($250,000)	15, 496
Alaska ($1,010,802)	14, 444
Wisconsin ($160,000)	14, 297
North Dakota ($225,000)	11, 736
Nevada ($86,000)	6, 681
Nebraska ($125,000)	5, 545
Idaho ($139,000)	5, 231
Kansas ($15,000)	5, 069
Colorado ($109,000)	4, 288
Wyoming ($15,000)	4, 020
Florida ($10,000)	2, 504
Iowa ($35,000)	1, 708

[1] Utah and Oregon were the only other eligible states west of the Mississippi not under Johnson-O'Malley contract in 1967.

The BIA is presently reviewing the possibility of reinstating California Indians to the JOM program. They should do so without delay.

C. OTHER FEDERAL FUNDS

In the absence of Johnson-O'Malley funds, the Federal funds which most likely benefit Indian students are those made available to the states under Public Law 81-874, P.L. 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and under the Economic Opportunity Act. None of these furnish categorical aid for Indians, and it is impossible to show whether or how they are used for the benefit of Indian pupils.

P.L. 81-874 (1950) authorizes supplemental payments to school districts serving federally connected school children, namely children who reside on federal property, or who reside with a parent employed on federal property. Since local school districts cannot raise revenues by taxing federal facilities, they are compensated for educating "federally connected" children through cash contribution under provisions of this law.

In fiscal 1966, the U.S. Office of Education reported that total P.L. 81-874 assistance to California school districts, as a result of the almost 2,500 qualifying Indian school children, amounted to approximately $300,000. California has pointed out that although the amount received under this program is nearly equal to the amount allocated to the state under the Johnson-O'Malley program before its termination in 1958, this program is not a substitute. First, the dollar amount is less than the state share would be under Johnson-O'Malley if California were still receiving a percentage of the total Federal allotment approximating the percentage it received prior to termination. More important is the fact that P.L. 874 payments become a part of the local school districts general funds, and are used to support its general program. Johnson-O'Malley funds on the other hand, were used to finance programs designed to meet the special needs of Indian students. Funds under Title I of P.L. 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education

Act, are allocated according to the incidence of poverty within the district, and are spent in programs to meet educational needs of disadvantaged children in target schools. Unless Indian children are attending target schools, they will not benefit. Even if they do, available information indicates that very few programs are directed to meet specific educational needs of Indians. Most emphasize remedial reading, and small-group instruction and only insofar as Indian pupils share the same learning problems as other pupils do they benefit.

School districts reporting an enrollment of 50 or more Indian pupils and in which Indian students comprised more than 3% of the district's total enrollment appear below along with amounts of their grants under ESEA Title I and P.L. 874.

District	ESEA title I 1967-68 grant	Public Law 81-874 1965-66 grant
Alpine County Unified	$4,076	$4,944
Palermo Union Elementary	30,333	
Auberry Union Elementary	11,002	
Sierra Joint Union High	14,948	
Del Norte County Unified	64,112	26,933
Klamath-Trinity Unified	18,493	96,256
McKinleyville Union Elementary	44,819	
San Pasqual Unified	23,267	71,290
Bishop Union Elementary	27,017	43,269
Bishop Union High		28,851
Lone Pine Unified	11,305	
Lakeport Unified	26,676	
North Fork Elementary	5,004	
Mariposa Unified	23,166	8,258
Round Valley Unified	18,454	26,100
Ukiah Unified	138,833	
Plumas Unified	59,382	
Banning Unified	119,942	15,740
San Jacinto Unified	37,460	16,612
Needles Unified	20,540	17,724
Fall River Joint Unified	19,736	35,825
Happy Camp Union Elementary	8,238	
Porterville City Elementary	206,388	

Source: Letter to subcommittee, May 28, 1968; F. R. Gunsky, California State Department of Education.

OEO funded programs for Indian children include Headstart classes for approximately 40 pupils on the Hoopa Reservation in Humboldt County and for 30 pupils on the Quechan Reservation in Imperial County. Other Headstart programs which Indians attend in mixed classes are being conducted at Susanville, near the Susanville Rancheria, and in Shasta, Lake, Placer, Tulare, Kings, Riverside, San Bernardino and San Diego Counties. The number of participants varies. It is estimated that no more than 100 Indian children, all total, are included in these programs. Recently, the Office of Economic Opportunity granted the Kashia Elementary School District funds for a follow-through program, and provided a grant to Bannin Certified School District to conduct a study entitled "Model of Educational Needs Assessment Program for California Indian Children."

D. ELIGIBILITY OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS FOR BIA PROGRAMS

Eligibility of California Indians for participation in BIA programs has been limited by Bureau policy to Indians living on trust lands. Since only 6,000 to 7,000 live on trust lands, the larger majority of California Indians have been automatically excluded from the boarding school, scholarship, and employment assistance programs. In practice, California Indians until this year have participated, and minimally at that, in only the employment assistance program. Dissatisfaction with Bureau policy or interpretation of eligibility regulations has been expressed by a number of Indian organizations and other Indian groups in the State. Testimony at the Committee hearing charged that the Bureau utilizes different standards for determining participation in federal programs.

The Bureau maintains an area office in Sacramento and field offices at Hoopa, Riverside, and Palm Springs. Their principle function is the management of Indian trust lands.

The Bureau's Employment Assistance Branch maintains three of its seven national offices in California at Oakland, San Jose and Los Angeles. The newly established Madera Employment Training Center is operated by the Philco-Ford under contract from the Bureau. The other major program in the State is Sherman Institute in Riverside.

Bureau of Indian Affairs expenditures in California in fiscal 1967 exceeded 8½ million dollars. Most of these funds were used for the benefit of non-California Indians—for the support of Sherman Institute, which until the fall of 1968 had no California enrollment, and for the Employment Assistance Program which had negligible California participation.

BIA expenditures in California, fiscal 1967

Sherman Institute	1, 413, 213
Public Law 84–959	5, 419, 613
General administrative expenses	293, 000
Forest and range lands	135, 000
Agricultural and industrial assistance	159, 000
Soil and moisture conservation	35, 000
Road maintenance	145, 000
Management of Indian trust properties	358, 000
Irrigation systems	62, 707
Construction	37, 875
Federal and highway roads	460, 000

As shown by the above chart, most funds used for the benefit of the California Indian are expended on land oriented programs and not, as has been pointed out, "to the development of human resources. * * * Of all Bureau funds expended in California, under 5% service the human needs of native California Indians." Less than that is used for education. Nationally, however, about 37% of the BIA budget is appropriated for educational purposes.

In 1968 the BIA initiated its study of the need for restoration of Johnson-O'Malley funds and changed its policy regarding eligibility of California Indians for its boarding school and scholarship programs. The change can be attributed to pressure from the state, the California Congressional delegation, and California Indian organizations. Current BIA policy is still not definitive and leaves determination of eligibility for both Sherman Institute and the scholarship program up to local Bureau officials' individual administrative determination.

Criteria for admission of Indian students to the BIA boarding school program, specifically to the Sherman Institute in Riverside, are as follows:

> 1. Applicant must be an enrolled California Indian, or the descendant of an enrolled California Indian, and possess not less than one-fourth degree of Indian blood. (Preference will be given to applicants living on trust or restricted land).
>
> 2. There must be no other appropriate public school facilities available. The education of Indian children, as well as that of citizens of all races, is a legal responsibility of the individual states; and California, generally, has a fine system of public education. It should never be said that a school which can meet the needs of non-Indians is unsuitable for Indians. Unless there are clear special requirements of Indians that the public schools cannot serve, and improvements in program cannot be made, public school enrollment will be required.
>
> 3. There must be a compelling reason to require care away from his home if other schools are available. (This would generally be in cases where a child is rejected or neglected and for whom no other suitable plan can be made.)

In every case, the applicant must be accompanied by recommendations from the local public school and county welfare department outlining the special needs justifying the request. An evaluation of Sherman conducted by this Subcommittee showed that of the original 85 enrolled in the fall of 1968, 29 had dropped out as of November, 1968.

In determining eligibility for scholarships under the 1968 Bureau policy, Indians residing on trust lands are given preference. Only 20 scholarships were made available for the 1969 fiscal year "because of inadequate funding." [15] While this change in Bureau policy has been welcomed by Indian organizations in the State, it is still felt that additional study is needed of the educational and training needs of rural and urban Indian residents who are still denied participation in Federal programs and whose educational needs are obviously not being met by the educational programs provided by the State of California.

6. The Educational Program

A. STUDENT PERFORMANCE

Education of Indian children in California is a responsibility of the State Department of Education.

The Department reported that 13,292 American Indians were attending public schools in 1967. This figure, which was obtained by a teacher survey or head count grossly underestimates the total Indian student population.

Few if any of these students attend schools which are predominantly Indian. In a similar survey of Indian enrollment in 1966, it was found that only 16 school districts had an enrollment of more than 100 Indian pupils, 9 had an enrollment of 76 to 99 and 21 had between 50 and 75 Indians. Whether students are concentrated in particular schools within these districts is not known.

Enrollment data on Indian attendance in institutions of higher education is likewise inadequate. Federal scholarships have not been available until this year and the BIA now has granted $1,000 scholarships to twenty students. Another twenty-one students are receiving financial assistance (scholarships from $500 to $1,000) from the privately endowed and state administered Maple Creek Willie Scholarship Fund. Only one junior college district reported more than 100 Indian pupils in 1966 and one reported between 75 and 99.

The State policy is to provide an "equal" education to all students. Thus, no special programs are directed towards the needs of the Indian student. While a representative of the California State Department of Education serves on the California State Indian Advisory Commission, no person within the Department is assigned to the area of Indian education per se. The State Department has no current publications or curricula material designed to assist teachers, administrators, and schools with problems and needs of Indian students. California was the last state with a significant Indian population to establish an Indian Affairs Commission.

While Indian students supposedly receive an "equal education" too many of them do not have the social, economic or cultural background to enable them to benefit from the opportunity. What little factual information is available indicates that present programs are ineffective.

Neither the Bureau nor the State is able to provide substantive data to the Subcommittee on student performance. The State Department of Education, in response to an inquiry for data on dropout rates, achievement test scores, overageness, attendance, grades, language proficiency, and other indices of education performance wrote:

> Because of the discontinuance of the Johnson-O'Malley funds in 1958, Indians as such cease to be identified. Therefore we do not have any detailed information * * * (letter from State Department of Education, September 27, 1968).

The 1964 report of the California Commission on Indian Affairs, states however, that while the level of educational achievement of the California Indian is somewhat higher than that of Indians in other areas of the country, it is significantly lower than that of other Californians.

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEAR COMPLETED

	U.S. Indians	California Indians	California total
Total population	8.5	9.7	(1)
Urban area population	9.5	10.1	12.0
Rural nonfarm population	8.1	9.1	10.9
Rural farm population	7.4	8.9	10.0

[1] Not available.

The Commission found that while California reservation Indians have an extremely high level of English language ability (98% of all persons over 7 years of age speak and 95% write English), there is a high dropout rate and a low level of student performance:

> Indians are enrolled in elementary schools at the same ratio as non-Indians. Upon reaching the age at which attendance is no longer a legal requirement, dropouts from school increase at a phenomenal rate. High schools with high percentages of enrolled Indian students reported a dropout rate which was three times higher for Indians (21 percent) than for non-Indians (7 percent) with some schools reporting rates which ranged from 30 percent to 75 percent. Needless to say, few Indian students finish high school, few attend college, and many who have graduated from high school receive an inferior education because of lack of teacher concern or the failure of the school system to devise compensatory teaching techniques to cope with students of differing cultural backgrounds (p. 11).

The same survey by the California Commission reported the following regarding the years of school completed by reservation Indians:

> The median school year completed for members of each reservation, 19 years old and older, in the commission's survey ranged from 8.0 years to 11.5 years with an overall median of 10.3 years. Median years completed by age group provides a better index of the overall educational achievement of reservation residents. There is a variation by age group of 11.4 median years for persons between the ages of 30–34 to 3.8 years for persons 75 years old and older. * * * There has been a steady decrease in the difference between white and Indian education since the turn of the century, at least until the advent of World War II. This was followed by a sharp increase of difference (2.1 years) and an increasing improvement since that time. Even considering this recent trend it is significant that these comparisons must be made in terms of negative achievement for the Indian (p. 33).

The few studies that have been made of rural Indian students show the same low achievement that has been found in other parts of the country. For example, Warner Union School District in San Diego County, with Indian students from the Los Coyotes and Santa Ysabel Reservation, noted that "reservation Indian children tend to perform well until reaching the upper primary or lower intermediate grades. Upon reaching this point both their motivation and achievement appear to drop off." This same study noted that reservation Indian children reflect a different system of attitudes, values and aspirations within the school situation. It questioned whether reservation Indian children should be "expected to meet the 'grade level standards' or even learn the 'same things' as the Anglo-American if the Indian's culture places little emphasis or value on these learnings."

Bishop Union Elementary School District conducted a study of the socio-economic and anthropologic impact of the Paiute Indian culture on the educational development of the children during the 1964–65 school year. As a result of this preliminary study the District noted that while the potential of the Indian students was about the same as other students, their achievement scores lagged behind, their attendance record was poor, promotions were found to have been based on physical size and age rather than on achievement, there were serious delinquency problems and a high high school dropout rate.

A 1963 study of California Indian children attending public schools in Auburn found a dropout rate of 50 percent for students in grades 9 through 14:

> This rate was constant for students living off the reservation, and for both male and female students. The percentage of dropouts during the 9th year (40 percent) is less than during the 10th year (75 percent) when most children reach the age of 16. Drop out rates are 50 percent during the 11th year and 33 percent for the 12th year. The only student who attended junior college dropped-out during his second year because of failing grades and poor attendance. Sixty-one percent of the group were reported as consistently having low reading scores on achievement tests throughout their school years, 30 percent had repeated one or more grades, 61 percent had extremely poor attendance records, and 37 percent were consistently truant.

Although information now available on the educational achievement of the California Indian is not complete, it is clear that present programs have failed to reach the Indian student. The newly organized California Inter-Tribal Council, a statewide OEO-funded Indian Community Action Program is currently surveying the educational needs of all tribes in the State. The State Department of Education and the BIA have just completed a survey of nine rural counties to re-evaluate the possible need for Johnson-O'Malley contract funds in California.

B. ANALYSIS OF EDUCATION FAILURE

Reasons for the educational failure, described in testimony and reports to the Subcommittee, show a striking similarity to explanations given throughout the country for the failure to educate a group whose legacy is one of conquest, extermination, exploitation, discrimination and deprivation. Reasons cited include the following:

1. Negative self-image. (In California the problem is compounded by the fact that the native Indian often lacks a viable tribal identity. While a few tribes exist as entities, related to specific geographic areas, many Indians have only the Indian rather than a tribal identification and their anthropological and cultural history and tradition have been lost or destroyed as a result of the long-time contacts with the white or European civilization.)
2. Home and Community Environment.
3. Cultural Background. (It condones and accepts permissiveness and discourages scholastic competition.)
4. Apathy of the Indian toward the present educational system.

5. Irrelevance of the existing educational goals and structured formal school programs to the needs and goals of the Indian.
6. Attitudes and abilities of California teachers who have received no special training to work with Indian students.
7. Discrimination and prejudice.
8. Undiagnosed hearing and vision deficiencies, and other poor health conditions.
9. The poverty milieu in general.

At the all-Indian Statewide Conference on California Indian Education, the participants agreed that—

> A large part of school achievement is based on the "self-image" of a child and that this can be damaged or destroyed by classmates and teachers who are ignorant or scornful of Indian cultural values and contributions which Indians have made to the enrichment of western civilization.

Other explanations they offered for the educational system's failures appear below:

> Teachers do not understand the adjustment problems of Indian children to classroom situations. There is little communication between the teacher and the parents. The parents rarely visit the school except when they come to the teacher or administrator when upset about some serious problem. In turn, the teacher rarely familiarizes himself with actual home situation of the Indian pupil, resulting in severe misunderstandings, including schoolwork assignments which the pupil finds impossible to carry out in his normal home environment, or which have little practical relationship to his home life.

They recommend:

> It is desirable fo the entire educational structure to be aware that, though basic differences exist between Indian and non-Indian cultures, these are not necessarily bad, but can be used to make human interaction more meaningful and successful for all children. Indian parents need to become more vigorously involved with the schools and school problems, as well as with the community at large. They need to identify and preserve and disseminate information about their cultural heritage.

Still another cause of Indian students' alienation from the white man's schools is the absence of curricular materials which present accurate portrayals, if any, of Indian culture. The American Indian Historical Society, which conducted an evaluation of textbooks in use in the fourth, fifth, and eighth grade social science classes in California, made the following observations:

> The American Indian is barely mentioned in connection with the Colonial period of American history.
>
> The American Indian's contributions to the economy of the nation and the world are barely mentioned, if at all.

> The history of the Indian in the Gold Rush is either not mentioned at all, or is distorted.
>
> The history of the American Indian during the Mission period of California history is misinterpreted.
>
> The description of the relationship between the federal government and the Indians is distorted; there is no effort to create an understanding of the current situation. With nearly complete unanimity, this federal-Indian relationship is given in almost the same phraseology in all the books. It would appear that the information was mimeographed in Washington, D.C., and then utilized wholehog by the textbook writers. It seems indeed that current history as to the American Indian is being written by government administrators and not by scholars * * *
>
> Treaties with the Indian tribes are not mentioned, and at best, are passed off lightly as of no account. The true condition of the reservation Indians is completely ignored, or misinterpreted. The current economic situation of the Indian is ignored. If mentioned, it is all one rosy picture of wealth and progress.

On the more positive side is the increasing awareness of the need for the development and use of relevant accurate materials in the classroom.

The recent and future publications of the American Indian Historical Society are providing valuable information in this regard. An excellent handbook on the California and Nevada Indian by Jack C. Forbes will soon be published. Material developed by the Far West Laboratory for Education Research and Development and the California Rural Legal Assistance Office is also useful.

7. Recent Developments

While a degree of factionalism exists among California Indians, an encouraging attempt has been made to present a united front in advocating an improved educational program. The progress made in the last two years in establishing a forum for the Indian community and in communicating with the State and Federal governments will hopefully serve as a sound foundation for legislative action and meaningful programs. The reports and actions of groups discussed below are creating a new awareness and readiness for change that ought to serve as impetus for other States to act.

A. THE CALIFORNIA ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

The Commission recommendations, published in 1966, including recommendations on education, had merit and were supported by the California Indian. The state legislature has not implemented these recommendations and there is little indication of positive action in the near future. The purpose and function of the Commission will come up for legislative review again in 1969.

B. THE STANISLAUS CONFERENCE

One positive result of the Commission's Report was the designation of the Stanislaus State College as the site for a Conference on the Education of Teachers of California Indians, March, 1967 supported by a 1966 California legislative appropriation. The Conference recommendations were studied by the subcommittee.

C. AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CALIFORNIA INDIAN EDUCATION

Following the Stanislaus conference, California Indian participants formed the Ad Hoc Committee to provide a continuing forum and continuing pressure on the State Legislature to respond to the conference recommendations.

During 1967, the Ad Hoc Committee held numerous regional meetings to maximize Indian involvement, a state-wide conference, with the help of the Rosenberg Foundation, held in October, 1967 at North Fork, California, brought together 200 Indians to analyze the problems of Indian education. The conference proceedings were published as *California Indian Education: the Report of the All-Indian Statewide Conference*. The North Fork Conference was the first All-Indian, Indian-controlled conference on education ever held and *California Indian Education* is the first comprehensive education statement ever prepared by a large and representative group of Indian people.

Continued political pressure on state legislature, Congress, and the BIA by the Committee has also produced results. The Committee has listed the following "spin-offs" from their activities, some of which have already been mentioned:

1. A Headstart program underway at Hoopa.
2. A proposal developed by Humboldt State College for identification and training of potential teachers of Indian descent with scholarship assistance for completion of their education.
3. Indian mothers employed as teacher-aides in several elementary systems.
4. Plans of the Indian Education section of US Office of Education for development of Ad Hoc-type Indian-action organizations in other states of the nation.
5. The Kashia Elementary School District granted funding by the Office of Education for Follow Through programs.
6. Senator Mervyn Dymally, at request of Ad Hoc, included in SB 572 a provision to require elementary and secondary history courses to incorporate material on Indian culture and its influence on economic, political and social development of California.
7. Students at UC-Santa Barbara have constructed an "Indian Project" proposal to present to UC Regents which outlines a center for study of Indian history, culture and education with eventual development of a Teacher Corps.
8. Dr. Jack Forbes will include in his *Native Californians and Nevadans: a Handbook for Educators* ideas advanced at Ad Hoc meetings and conferences.

9. A major archaeological society is planning ways to involve Indian people, and obtain their cooperation, in locating and salvaging the "blank pages of history" which lie in California's prehistoric sites.

10. Joseph Merci, Banning Certified School District, is conducting a survey under Title V of ESEA: Model of Educational Needs Assessment Program for California Indian children.

11. The University of California campuses and the California State Colleges are now offering a large number of scholarships to Indian people.

Other findings and recommendations of the committee were submitted to this subcommittee and are included in Appendix II.

D. AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

In 1964 the American Indian Historical Society, founded in San Francisco by Mr. and Mrs. Rupert Costo, began publishing *The Indian Historian* and special research reports. Especially concerned with bringing an Indian viewpoint to bear upon historical writing, the Society also became concerned with related issues including the white biases of school testbooks and the non-Indian orientation of school curricula. During the fall of 1966, with a grant from the Rosenberg Foundation, it conducted workshops for teachers at Beaumont, Hoope, Fresno, Berkeley, and San Francisco; launched an Indian historical, artistic, and cultural center in San Francisco, called Chautauqua House; and successfully fought for the removal of an anti-Indian text used in the Oakland schools. More recently, *The Indian Historian* has been transformed into a journal contributing to the enrichment of contemporary knowledge about Indian history and culture, while society members have continued to work for the improvement of school programs.

E. CALIFORNIA INDIAN LEGAL SERVICES, INC.

The Office of Economic Opportunity approved a grant of approximately $250,000 in 1968 for support of the California Indian Legal Services, Inc., to provide legal services and economic and community development programs for rural California Indians. This program is an outgrowth of the Indian Services Division of California Rural Legal Assistance, funded by the OEO in 1966. It was soon apparent that Indian legal problems were different from legal problems of others and "Indians as a group were poorer and had more legal problems than any other minority group." Since inception, the Service has initiated an impressive series of actions ranging from cases for the protection of land rights to cases against discrimination.

F. THE CALIFORNIA INTER-TRIBAL COUNCIL

This council, a statewide OEO Community Action Program, received a grant in 1968. It is currently conducting a survey of educational needs, and has notified the regional OEO that it is willing to become the prime applicant for all Indian high school programs in the State.

The future of the Council is uncertain at present time and questions have been raised about its acceptance by all of California's Indian population.

G. FAR WEST REGIONAL LABORATORY

Funded under Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Far West Regional Laboratory in San Francisco has shown a strong interest in the problems of Indian education. A handbook for educators dealing with Indians of California and Nevada has been written by Jack Forbes of the Laboratory staff; staff members have participated in the education conferences and worked with California Indians in developing the Indian educational movement; and the Laboratory administered the Rosenberg Foundation grant for the Ad Hoc Committee and edited its first publication, *California Indian Education.* The Laboratory is also developing a program in multi-cultural education using as a model the rural Indian in California and Nevada. Two major problems have been identified for attack: community involvement and personnel training.

8. CALIFORNIA—APPENDIX

A. PUBLIC DOMAIN ALLOTMENTS; HOMESTEADS AND NATIONAL FOREST ALLOTMENTS, SACRAMENTO AREA, NOVEMBER 18, 1968

There were originally 2,207 Public Domain, Homestead and National Forest Allotments scattered throughout the State. At the present time we have a total of 218 allotments in the three categories, which are located in 23 of the 58 California counties.

There are 110 of the allotments under the Sacramento jurisdiction: 92 are under the Hoopa Area Field Office; and 16 are under the Riverside Area Field Office.

Terminated rancherias

Alexander Valley	1961	Nevada City	1964
Auburn	1967	North Fork	1966
Big Valley	1965	Paskenta	1961
Blue Lake	1964	Picayune	1966
Buena Vista	1961	Pinoleville	1966
Cache Creek	1961	Potter Valley	1966
Chicken Ranch	1961	Quartz Valley	1967
Chico	1967	Redding	1962
Cloverdale	1965	Redwood Valley	1961
Crescent City (Elk Valley)	1966	Robinson	1965
El Dorado (Shingle Springs)[1]	1966	Rohnerville	1966
Graton	1966	Ruffeys	1961
Greenville	1966	Scotts Valley	1965
Guidiville	1965	Smith River	1967
Indian Ranch	1964	Strawberry Valley	1961
Lytton	1961	Table Bluff	1961
Mark West	1961	Wilton	1964
Mooretown	1961		

[1] Not listed in original act.

Status of active rancherias

Augustine	Petition received to sell tribal lands. Offered for sale, no acceptable bids received. Will be readvertised.
Big Lagoon	Distribution Plan prepared and approved.
*Cold Springs	Resolve rights-of-way and water problem, then issue deeds.
*Colusa	Distribution Plan approved September 26, 1967. Objections to plan forwarded to Washington Office November 22, 1967.
*Hopland	Most deeds issued December 1966. Must establish one guardianship.
Jackson	Distribution Plan approved July 20, 1967. Requirements of plan near completion.
Mission Creek	Sale of tribal land must be consummated.
Resighini	Distribution Plan effective January 21, 1967. Must resolve survey and trespass problem.
Rumsey	Distribution Plan effective January 27, 1967. Must sell tribal land and disburse proceeds.
Sherwood Valley	Distribution Plan prepared and published. Objections to plan forwarded to Washington Office November 7, 1967.
Strathmore	Sold 1967 on deferred payment plan. Deed will be issued when payment completed.
*Table Mountain	Deeds delivered May 1961. Must settle boundary dispute.
Trinidad	Distribution Plan effective November 20, 1967. Certain requirements of plan to be completed.
*Upper Lake	Deeds delivered August 1961. Must still resolve boundary dispute.

B. STATE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

CALIFORNIA RESERVATIONS (RANKED BY TOTAL POPULATION)

Reservations	Total population	Within units	Adjacent to units	Area
Berry Creek	0	0	0	33
Likely	0	0	0	40
Colfax	0	0	0	40
Taylorsville	0	0	0	160
Ramona	0	0	0	560
Riverside public domain allotments	0	0	0	2,663
Twentynine Palms	0	0	0	161
Captain Grande	0	0	0	15,636
La Posta	0	0	0	3,879
Mission Reserve	0	0	0	9,480
Strathmore	0	0	0	40
Cuyapaipe	1	0	1	4,080
Montgomery Creek	1			72
Graton	1	1	0	15
Augustine	2	0	2	529
Sheep Ranch	3	3	0	2
Lookout	4	4	0	50
Roaring Creek	4	4	0	80
Shingle Springs	5	0	5	240
Big Bend (Henderson)	5	5	0	40
Jackson	6	6	0	331
Big Lagoon	6	6	0	9
North Fork	6			0
Mission Creek	7	0	7	2,510
Enterprise	8	8	0	81
Indian Ranch	9	4	5	569
Alturas	9	9	0	20
Picayune (T)	11	11	0	0
Cabazon	11	2	9	1,774
Sherwood Valley	12	0	12	291
Sycuan	12	9	3	640

CALIFORNIA RESERVATIONS (RANKED BY TOTAL POPULATION)—Continued

Reservations	Total population	Within units	Adjacent to units	Area
Cedarville	13	12	1	17
Cortina	14	1	13	640
Santa Rosa	15	2	13	11,093
Pechanga	17	7	10	4,125
Rumsey	17	6	11	141
Manzanita	19	8	11	4,320
Inaja and Cosmit	20	13	7	880
Cloverdale (T)	20	20	0	0
Dry Creek	20	20	0	75
Guidiville (T)	21	21	0	0
Greenville (T)	22	22	0	0
Blue Lake	22	22	0	26
Scotts Valley	25			0
Trinidad	27	27	0	60
Cold Springs (Sycamore)	28	25	3	160
Grindstone Creek	28	28	0	80
Rohnerville	29	20	0	15
XL Ranch	29	22	7	8,760
Los Coyotes	29	21	8	25,050
Crescent City (Elk Valley)	30	30	0	0
Fort Independence	32	32	0	357
Susanville	32	27	5	30
Wilton (T)	32			0
Sulphur Bank	35	30	5	50
Quartz Valley	36	36	0	604
San Manuel	37			653
California agency public domain allotments	40	40	0	17,254
Colusa (Cachil Dehe)	40	17	23	257
Middletown	40	18	22	109
Tuolumne	46	36	10	323
Mesa Grande	49	29	20	4,320
Table Mountain	50			0
Laytonville	50	50	0	200
Santa Ynez	50	20	30	99
Campo	53	22	31	15,010
Pauma and Yuima	55	40	15	250
Big Pine	56	36	20	279
Coast Indian Community (Resighini)	57	57	0	228
San Pasqual	57	27	30	1,375
Cahuilla	62	34	28	18,272
Upper Lake (T)	64	46	18	0
Stewarts Point	66	54	12	40
Pinoleville (T)	67	67	0	0
Hoopa public domain allotments	75	75	0	4,716
Torres-Martinez	75	63	12	26,364
Robinson	76	67	9	0
La Jolla	76	36	40	7,588
Agua Caliente	78	74	4	28,563
Lone Pine	82	75	7	237
Auburn (T)	83	70	13	0
Manchester (Point Arena)	92	72	20	363
Santa Rosa	96	96	0	170
Big Sandy (Auberry)	100	80	20	285
Smith River	102	102	0	164
Viejas (Baron Long)	102	87	15	640
Fort Bidwell	104	84	20	3,335
Hopland	106	81	25	2,070
Chico (Meechupta)	113	15	98	12
Barona Ranch	123	103	20	5,005
Santa Ysabel	136	106	30	15,527
Rincon	165	100	65	3,699
Soboba	213	188	25	5,056
Pala	215	160	55	7,798
Big Valley (mission)	226	159	67	118
Morongo	257	187	70	32,270
Tule River	325	172	153	54,116
Hoopa Valley extension	360	360	0	6,468
Bishop	570	470	100	875
Fort Yuma	965	890	105	8,802
Hoopa Valley	992	992	0	86,068
Round Valley (Covelo)	1,115	360	755	17,910

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C. Memorandum from the Commissioner to all employees, November 1963.

C. INDIAN ENROLLMENT IN CALIFORNIA SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Districts with more than 100 students

Bishop Union Elementary, Inyo.
Del Norte County Unified.
Eureka City Schools, Humboldt.
Klamath-Trinity Unified, Humboldt.
Los Angeles City Unified.
Montebello Unified, Los Angeles.
Mt. San Antonio Junior College, Los Angeles.
Oakland City Unified.
Plumas Unified.
Porterville City Elementary.
Round Valley Unified, Mendocino.
San Diego City Unified.
San Francisco Unified.
San Pasqual Valley Unified, Imperial.
Santa Rosa Elementary and High School, Sonoma.
Ukiah Unified, Mendocino.

Districts with between 76 and 99 Indian students

Banning Unified, Riverside.
Bishop Union High, Inyo.
Fall River Joint Unified, Shasta.
Fresno City Unified.
Lakeport Unified, Lake.
Los Angeles City Junior Colleges.
Mt. Diablo Unified, Contra Costa.
Needles Unified, San Bernardino.
San Jacinto Unified, Riverside.

Districts with between 50 and 75 Indian students

Alpine County Unified.
Arcata Union High, Humboldt.
Auberry Union Elementary, Fresno.
Clovis Unified, Fresno.
Garden Grove Unified, Orange.
Happy Camp Union Elementary, Siskiyou.
Hayward Unified.
Kern County Joint Union High.
Lone Pine Unified.
Mariposa County Unified.
Marysville Joint Unified.
McKinleyville Union Elementary, Humboldt.
North Fork Elementary, Madera.
Palermo Union Elementary, Butte.
Richmond Unified.
Riverside City Unified.
San Jose City Unified.
San Juan Unified, Sacramento.
Shasta Union High.
Sierra Joint Union High, Fresno.
Stockton City Unified.

D. AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS AND SCHOOL PERSONNEL—RACIAL AND ETHNIC SURVEY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, FALL 1966 AND FALL 1967

A. Students reported (other than adult and junior college), totals by county:

County	1966	1967	County	1966	1967
Alameda	543	597	Placer	87	89
Alpine	68	58	Plumas	114	126
Amador	43	53	Riverside	520	513
Butte	200	227	Sacramento	237	266
Calaveras	41	32	San Benito	----	1
Colusa	17	18	San Bernardino	335	641
Contra Costa	230	217	San Diego	685	731
Del Norte	314	289	San Francisco	148	170
El Dorado	28	53	San Joaquin	94	78
Fresno	395	424	San Luis Obispo	40	57
Glenn	60	54	San Mateo	116	162
Humboldt	1,014	1,011	Santa Barbara	78	68
Imperial	280	275	Santa Clara	305	388
Inyo	399	398	Santa Cruz	38	47
Kern	222	230	Shasta	333	384
Kings	70	66	Sierra	18	23
Lake	145	134	Siskiyou	304	315
Lassen	101	102	Solano	85	103
Los Angeles	2,143	2,322	Sonoma	307	333
Madera	110	133	Stanislaus	98	166
Marin	36	45	Sutter	17	18
Mariposa	70	68	Tehama	45	60
Mendocino	409	477	Trinity	29	44
Merced	40	46	Tulare	271	296
Modoc	49	78	Tuolumne	65	65
Mono	56	52	Ventura	89	109
Monterey	131	111	Yolo	58	43
Napa	20	37	Yuba	62	44
Nevada	15	12			
Orange	320	360	Total	12,138	13,292

	1966	1967
B. Adult students reported (other than junior college), State total	537	729
C. Junior college students reported, State totals:		
Classes for adults	182	131
Graded classes	749	719
Total	931	850
D. All students reported, State total	13,606	14,871
E. Certified personnel reported, State totals:		
Teachers	184	205
Administrators	15	19
Other certificated	11	24
Total	210	248

Source: California State Department of Education, Office of Compensatory Education, Bureau of Intergroup Relations, Sacramento.

E. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STATE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, FEBRUARY, 1966

1. That the State Department of Education make available a report of the exact past use of Johnson-O'Malley funds, and we recommend that these funds be requested again to assist Indians in California * * * particularly those Indians living in rural areas and on reservations.

2. That special continuing workshops comparable to those conducted in Arizona State University be established, by cooperation be-

tween the Department of Education and some California state college or university. The purpose of such workshops would be to provide teachers, counselors and social workers with a background on the methods of coping better with the problems of educating and counseling Indian children.

3. The Maple Creek Willie Scholarship Fund. That assistance be given to help publicize the work of the fund to increase the size of the fund through contributions.

4. That the Sacramento office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs be advised that more California Indians should be included in their vocational training program. The present requirement of residence on trust land for eligibility to participate in the adult vocational training program should be eliminated to permit other California Indians to participate. California represents a special situation in that all native Indians did not get on reservations or rancherias in the first place. California is a nontreaty state and therefore constitutes a special case. There are California Indians who should be "reservation Indians" and who, today, live in towns near reservations. The historical accident of not having set up reservation areas to include all Indians at one time should not be a basis for discrimination against Indians today.

5. That Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools be reopened to Indian students in special cases in which the home environment constitutes a detriment to their education and social and mental well-being and in cases in which difficulty has been encountered in locating suitable foster homes. These conditions affect his over all performance in the public school system.

6. That congressional action be solicited to establish a California Indian trust fund from the remaining balance of the 1944 California Indian Judgment, and that specific provisions be enacted to provide that the annual interest or earnings from such trust fund be used to augment the Maple Creek Willie Scholarship Fund.

7. That the State Department of Education employ an Indian education specialist, as is the practice in most surrounding states, to deal with the special problems of techniques and of Indian education.

8. That the Department of Education explore and implement all possible programs available through state or federal agencies for the education of preschool Indian children. These include any programs such as Project Headstart and those compensatory education programs available under the McAteer Act.

F. RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATION OF TEACHERS OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS, STANISLAUS STATE COLLEGE, MARCH 19–21, 1967

(1.) Conference recommendations

The following recommendations are offered by the conference planning committee and seminar leaders based on an analysis of tapescripts of the discussions in each of the four seminar groups that met throughout the conference. The first two recommendations should receive financial support from the California State Legislature at this time; the latter four should be communicated to the appropriate officials of the California State Colleges, the University of California, the California State Department of Education, the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, and Southwest Regional Laboratory. It is recommended:

(1) That there be instituted a statewide conference or regional conferences of Indian adults in 1967–68. Leadership might well come from those who participated in the planning conference.

The purpose of any meetings would be to provide the opportunity for the Indian adults to reduce any communication barriers that may exist among their various associations and councils within California, to focus their attention on the educational goals which they feel are essential for Indian children, and to review the findings of the planning conference.

(2) That a series of meetings be planned in several regions in 1967–68, utilizing teams from the above conference and involving other representatives from the Indian community, from selected school districts, and from higher education.

The purpose of these meetings would be to continue the dialogue begun at the planning conference at Stanislaus State College and to involve the many geographical sections with Indian population not represented at the recent conference.

Further, it is recommended that the following agencies and/or responsibilities be identified to provide leadership in realization of other long-range goals identified in the Conference Report:

(1) That the trustees of the California State Colleges and the regents of the University of California be requested to consider appropriate ways to develop and coordinate programs directed towards meeting special needs in Indian education.

(2) That within the California State Department of Education a person be employed as an Indian education resource specialist. This person should have a strong background in the behavioral sciences and a record of intimate experience in working with Indian people. His major responsibilities would be to direct a strong recruitment program for teachers in areas with significant Indian population, to provide more comprehensive data about special federal or state aid programs available to school districts with Indian children, to recommend local specialists to be employed through county offices and to cooperate in the organization of existing curriculum materials and in the production of needed additions about Indians in California.

(3) That a centralized curriculum laboratory and depository be organized cooperatively by Indian associations and the State Department of Education. Those responsible would first organize a task force to determine what curriculum materials are needed about Indians in order to identify local, regional and statewide cultural contributions.

(4) That some research center or centers within the state work cooperatively with the State Department of Education, or independently, to undertake experimental programs concerned with the solutions of problems of the education of Indian children.

(5) That the in-service education of teachers of Indians in the rural Indian regions be extended and strengthened through the extension programs of colleges and universities and by other means. Teachers, administrators, Indian adults and community members should be directly involved in programs dealing with their local needs.

6. CALIFORNIA INDIAN EDUCATION RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FIRST ALL-INDIAN STATEWIDE CONFERENCE OF CALIFORNIA INDIAN EDUCATION, 1967

(1.) *Recommendations to the parents of Indian children*

The conference participants feel very strongly that the role of the Indian parent is of crucial significance. Parents must assume greater responsibility for the educational and emotional development of their children and not expect the school to succeed where parents fail. More specifically—

1. Parents should assume the responsibility of counseling and guiding their children at home;
2. Parents should provide training in Indian language, history and culture at home, to supplement community and school efforts;
3. Parents should participate actively in organizations such as Parent-Teachers Association and should visit the school frequently (not just when their child has a problem);
4. Parents should help the Indian community develop educational and recreational programs for youth;
5. Parents should attend classes in order to prepare themselves for helping their children, if the parents lack suitable backgrounds;
6. Parents should be willing to serve as teachers in Headstart programs and as teacher aides and resource persons in regular classrooms, and;
7. Parents should work to improve their self-image by setting better examples for their children within home and community.

(2.) *Recommendations to the Indian community*

The local Indian community must better organize itself so as to provide services to youth not now available and so as to be in a position to help the schools improve their educational programs. More specifically—

1. Indian-centered clubs should be encouraged, along with museums, arts and crafts workshops, recreation programs, and Headstart classes where these do not now exist;
2. Indian self-help (benevolent) societies might be organized to provide financial assistance to pupils and families in times of emergency;
3. Indian people should have greater contact with teachers, counselors, administrators and school board members by means of formal and informal meetings arranged by the Indian community;
4. To achieve the latter, a local education organization may be necessary; and
5. The Indian community should develop resource people for use in the school and should put on lectures about Indian subjects for the benefit of Indians and non-Indians.

(3.) *Recommendations to school administrators and board members*

The school should serve *all* people in the total community. Indian parents and organization must be involved in the life of the school and in making decisions about the school's program. Communication between the school and Indian parents must be improved. The local Indian heritage must be recognized as a key part of the school's curriculum, reflecting as it does the heritage of the local region for all pupils. More specifically—

1. Indian parents should be encouraged to be involved in the school as school board members, resource people, teacher aides, volunteer counselors, and PTA members;

2. School personnel must establish friendly contacts with Indian people which means that they must overcome prejudice and participate, when appropriate, in Indian-organized activities and get to know parents;

3. Better lines of communication should be established between the school and Indian parents, perhaps by means of frequent contacts as recommended above;

4. The school must show respect for the Indian language and heritage but at the same time must allow the Indian people to determine for themselves what "Indianness" means today. That is, the school must rely heavily upon Indian resource people in the development of curriculum dealing with the Indian heritage, especially as it relates to the present day; and

5. School districts with Indian pupils should make every effort to secure certificated staff members of Indian background, in addition to utilizing local Indian adults and older youth as aides, tutors, etc.

(4.) *Recommendations to colleges and universities*

The conference participants strongly recommend that California's colleges and universities strengthen their programs in California Indian history and culture, develop special programs for teachers of California Indian pupils, establish more scholarship for Indian students, and take steps to insure that full information on college requirements and scholarships are made available to Indian high school students. More specifically—

1. Courses should be available where feasible on California Indian languages, taught for the benefit of average students and not solely for students of linguistics;

2. Additional courses on California Indian history and culture should be available, especially for prospective and experienced teachers, and existing courses dealing with California history should be altered or lengthened so as to allow for full treatment of all minority groups' contributions;

3. One or more California state college or university campuses should be strongly encouraged to develop a center for Indian studies in order to provide special training for teachers, Indian leaders, social workers, et cetera, for example to carry out research projects relating to California Indians, and in order to help develop Indian-related materials for use in the schools. Such a center should work closely with an Indian advisory panel and with Indian organizations in order to

insure that the scholars involved do not simply exploit Indian culture, archaeological sites, et cetera, for their own purposes in a manner offensive to the Indian people;

4. Special interdisciplinary training programs should be developed for prospective and experienced teachers emphasizing anthropology, sociology, social psychology and minority group history and culture. These programs must include procedures whereby the student teachers become familiar with the specific language, history and contemporary culture of the people they will be working with, perhaps by means of instruction "in the field," after employment is secured but prior to beginning actual teaching;

5. Scholarships or other aid should be provided to encourage graduate work in Indian education;

6. Special counseling and tutoring arrangements should be developed to help Indian students overcome high school deficiencies;

7. More dormitories should be provided at economical rates for rural students at junior and state colleges;

8. Work-study opportunities should be provided for Indian students, and

9. Special procedures should be developed for insuring that minority high school students are fully aware of college requirements and scolarship aid programs.

(5.) *Recommendations to teachers and prospective teachers*

The conference participants recommend strongly that teachers receive special preservice and inservice training designed to thoroughly familiarize themselves with the special background of the Indian child and with the history and values of the local Indian community, that teachers working with Indian pupils need to be especially empathetic and prejudice-free individuals, that teachers need to interact in a friendly manner with Indian parents more frequently, and that teachers should be receptive to the use of Indian adults as resource people and aides in their classrooms. More specifically—

1. Teachers need to understand thoroughly the background of the Indian child with whom they are working which requires an understanding of the local Indian heritage and the social structure of the region in addition to a general knowledge of Indian history and culture;

2. Teachers should respect the heritage and values of the local Indian community because such respect is closely related to the development of a positive self-image on the part of Indian youth;

3. Teachers should become familiar with at least commonly used words and phrases from the local Indian language as one means for showing respect for the native culture and also in order to share the linguistic heritage of the region with all pupils;

4. Teachers need to be aware of their own middle-class assumptions and prejudices, and of their own personality traits and manners, so as to be able to modify those aspects of their behavior which inhibit easy interaction with Indian pupils and parents; and

5. Teachers should be trained to utilize Indian aides and resource people in the classroom and should be helped to overcome any fear of having non-teacher adults in the classroom.

(6.) *Recommendations to counselors and administrators*

The conference participants feel that counselors and administrators need to develop the same understanding of the Indian heritage and community as do teachers, and that, in addition, counselors must strive to develop an empathetic behavior as regards the shy or alienated Indian child. Also—

1. Counselors must not channel an Indian child into a largely athletic or non-college program until the child has clearly demonstrated that he wishes to be a "vocational" major. Even then, the vocational programs available at junior colleges should be kept open as options for future education;
2. Schools should be sure that Indian pupils are made aware of scholarship opportunities and college requirements at an early age;
3. Work-study programs should be available as an alternative to dropping out of school completely and every effort should be made to keep "drop-outs" in school at least part-time;
4. An Indian person, preferably an older person, familiar with the language and culture of his own people, should be used as a liaison person between school counselors and parents; and
5. An "opportunities" counselor, preferably an Indian, should be available to work with both parents and youth.

(7.) *Recommendations on the Indian heritage*

The conference participants believe very strongly that the Indian heritage should be an integral part of the programs of the school and the Indian community, that the use of the Indian heritage in the school is especially important for helping Indian pupils develop a sense of identity and personal worth (but that it is also important as a part of the common heritage of all pupils), and that local Indian people must be actively involved in any programs developed by a school that touches upon the Indian heritage. More specifically—

1. The Indian people must unify and emphasize their Indian culture, and learn how to retain it and teach it to the younger generation;
2. Indian people should be brought into the school to help professional staff develop materials for the curriculum and to teach arts and crafts, dancing, singing, et cetera;
3. The school and Indian adults and children together should develop projects to record local Indian history, protect historical and cemetery sites, construct exhibits, preserve Indian place-names, and put on pageants; and
4. Non-Indians must recognize that the Indian heritage is a living, evolving legacy which has not been static in the past and is not static today and that the "core" of being Indian is being a member of an Indian community and not a particular style of dress or ornamentation. Teachers must avoid the idea that a "real" Indian needs to dress and act as Indian people did a century ago.

(8.) *Recommendations on textbooks and mass media*

Indian people are not pleased with most of the textbooks utilized in the schools. It is recommended that textbooks used in California be changed so as to deal accurately with the history and culture of the California Indians, that new supplementary materials dealing specifically with California Indian history and culture be prepared, that all texts include pictures of children of different racial backgrounds and that the "mass media" (television, et cetera) deal accurately and adequately with minority groups. For example, in documentary materials Indian actors should be utilized for Indian roles and the use of stereotypes should be discarded.

(9.) *Recommendations to the State of California*

While many of the above recommendations should be of concern to State officials, the conference participants specifically wish to recommend the following for action at the State level:

1. That the State of California request its fair share of funds for Indian education available under the Johnson-O'Malley Act:
2. That these funds be utilized under the direction of a panel of Indians who would supervise their distribution to projects within the state;
3. That the Johnson-O'Malley funds be utilized to help implement the recommendations of this report; for example to finance meetings of Indian people and teachers to aid in the teacher training programs referred to earlier, and to pay the salary of a specialist in Indian education who would be a person completely familiar with the culture and history of California Indian people;
4. That state financing should also be made available in support of the establishment of a center for California Indian studies;
5. That the State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs be improved by placing Indians on the commission, that the State Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs be improved by adding enough Indians to form an Indian majority, and that the Commission and Committee study carefully and act upon the recommendations of this conference and of the Stanislaus Conference; and
6. That adult education programs be expanded especially in terms of preparing parents to help their children educationally.

(10.) *Recommendations to the Federal Government*

1. That the federal government make Johnson-O'Malley funds available for California Indian to be administered by the State of California under direction of California Indians.
2. That all possible college scholarships (such as those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs) be available for California Indians.
3. That Headstart pre-school programs be expanded with more all year activities, a small pupil-number requirement, and more local Indian involvement.
4. That local Indian communities in California should be actively encouraged to develop educational programs financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity.
5. That federal agencies carefully consider ways in which federal funds can be utilized to encourage the adoption of recommendations made to the State of California and also consider reforms which will ensure a greater degree of Indian involvement in the management and operation of Bureau of Indian Affairs schools (such as Sherman Institute, Haskell Institute, and the Santa Fe Arts and Crafts Institute).

Appendix H

H. A STATEMENT OF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY URBAN AND RELOCATED INDIANS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA

The following specific problems have been identified by various members of our committee and other urban and relocated Indians with whom we have talked. These people noted:

1. A serious lack of voice in determining matters which concern their present and future lives. That is, programs are set up *for* them without always consulting them as to their wishes and needs. This does nothing toward giving them a feeling of adequacy.

2. Many Bureau of Indian Affairs employees and counselors who are assigned to deal with the problems of the urban and relocated Indians seem to have little personal regard for or empathy with the Indian people whom they are supposed to be serving. Many, indeed, adopt a very superior, sarcastic approach toward their "clients", which serves only to alienate those who need help.

3. A very impersonal approach to job-placement after relocation training, with little or no follow-up services.

4. Evidently there are no adequate records available which show whether or not present training programs are satisfactory. This lack of data extends to the absence of an up-to-date directory of Indians trained through the Bureau of Indian Affairs programs and their present location and job status.

5. Indians who choose to "go on relocation" are given a limited choice of schools to attend, which are often sub-standard, poorly staffed, costly, short-term training periods which turn out "graduates" ill-prepared for the jobs they had anticipated finding and holding upon completion of their schooling. Even if they become disillusioned and seek to transfer to another school, they find that they have no such option, but must either stay where they are or be left stranded, without funds. In addition, they receive little or no real counseling services, and only token job-placement upon completion of training. This leaves the relocated Indian, upon completion of his training period, stranded in an alien city, with very poor employment prospects and no one to turn to for real help out of a sometimes desperate situation. This often gives rise to an inner panic as well as a feeling of frustration and poor self-esteem. The consequences of such situations sometimes lead to spiritual, emotional, physical and moral degradation, in the struggle for survival and recognition in a precarious environment, furthering the negative self-image.

6. Very few of the Indians who come to the cities have been through any real sort of urban-life orientation program, and therefore face a myriad of strange situations they do not know how to cope with. Quite often their clothing choices and personal grooming habits are not acceptable in many employment situations, but they have no guidance in these matters, nor briefing on conducting themselves for job interviews, etc. This leaves them at a serious disadvantage when compared to the city-oriented competitor, furthering their feeling of inadequacy.

7. Students in training programs find that the money allowed them for overall expenses is very unrealistic when compared to the actual cost of city living, even under the most drab and stringent circumstances.

8. Allowances for medical and dental services do not begin to cover the costs, and many people do not know how to find a reputable doctor or dentist. As a consequence, many must turn to the county clinics, if they are eligible, and this is a notably poor substitute for the proper health care they expected when they left home. Poor diet and anxiety often compound health problems left untended.

9. Many Indians, faced with the insurmountable challenges of city living consider themselves failures and turn to alcohol and drugs as an escape. There are no really adequate programs available to them to help them overcome these complex problems and so the trend continues.

10. Many Indians who are adequately prepared to do so would like to be able to receive, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, outright grants and scholarships, enabling them to go to colleges or universities of their choice rather than being limited to the option of going to the traditional vocational trade schools or training programs, applying for one of the relatively few and often limiting scholarships offered through various private means, or just "making it on their own".

11. Indian people find that not only does the general public have very unfactual impressions of everything "Indian", but their own people learn the supposed "facts" about Indians from the same scanty, inaccurate sources and the same distorted viewpoints as the non-Indians. As a consequence, a great many Indians develop very poor impressions of themselves, their people and the things they are taught in school and through the mass media to consider as their history and culture, much as it may differ from what they have been taught at home. Many Indian people actually know almost nothing of their tribal background, either because such background has been ridiculed in the past to the point where it is no longer passed on to the succeeding generations, or it has been lost during the disruptive years of conquest, domination, exploitation and so-called "acculturation" of the Indian tribes concerned.

Recommendations toward solving the problems outlined above:

1. Indian people should be allowed to assume greater responsibility for the educational needs, economic development, emotional stability and well-being of their people; therefore, they should be given a voice in the management of programs which affect them. More specifically: an all-Indian committee should be formed in each urban area to identify common problems and make recommendations to proper agencies. This committee could be an invaluable aid to those agencies who are concerned with meeting the needs of the Indian people.

2. Persons employed to work with Indian people should be emphathetic and prejudice-free individuals who have familiarized themselves with the special background of the Indian people including their contributions toward the social, political and economic development of this country and the world. In addition, they need to inter-act in a friendly manner with Indian people and to get out of the "Paternalistic role" exhibited by many of the present employees, and into that

of a "Partnership", showing real individual concern for the people they are supposed to be serving.

3. Counselors, preferably Indian, empathetic to Indians, should be employed to help Indian people with their occupational and personal problems. Indians coming from reservations to urban areas are probably confronted with more problems than most people face in a lifetime.

4. Placement officers should keep an accurate record of all placements as well as non-placements of all Indians who are relocated or trained through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A follow-up study should also be made in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the various programs. An up-to-date directory should be kept listing all the Indians who were relocated or trained through the B.I.A. programs and their present location and job status.

5. Indian people in vocational training should be allowed to utilize the excellent Junior College vocational programs in California. These Junior Colleges offer some of the best educational programs in the U.S. and at a very reasonable cost. Vocational, technical and transfer programs of all types are available at those Junior Colleges. Vocational students at Junior Colleges would have an opportunity to take general education courses as well as vocational courses should they so desire. Junior Colleges provide training in almost all vocational fields. They also provide excellent individual counseling services and student job placement services. There are no educational prerequisites to entering Junior Colleges if the person is 18 years of age or older. The Bureau of Indian Affairs should seriously consider the Junior College programs as a way of providing high quality education at a reasonable cost.

6. Orientation programs designed to provide information and training on urban living, finding employment, holding a job, proper grooming, etc., should be available to all urban and relocated Indians.

7. Indians in training programs should be given a cost-of-living adjustment commensurate with the national cost-of-living increase so as to prevent extreme hardships encountered by so many Indians now in the programs. Cost-of-living adjustments should be included as part of the budget.

8. Provisions for more adequate health services for Indian people should be made and funds for these improved services should be included in the budget. Unhealthy people cannot compete in education, work or life with healthy people.

9. Alcoholism, associated with people who are both socially and self-alienated, which is generally caused by feelings of inadequacy and frustration, is a major problem with Indian people. Drugs, to some extent, are becoming an increasing problem also, for the same reasons. Provisions for dealing with these problems should be considered and funds budgeted for this purpose.

10. There should be more scholarships and outright educational grants available to those Indians who have the background to go directly to a college or university. The education received through this type of program should be less expensive in the long run than the

traditional vocational type of training carried on by the Federal Government, especially when comparing the money spent to the educational "Value Received" and the ultimate benefit, to the student, his people and the country as a whole, in terms of earning power, self-image, service to his people and country, taxes returned and Federal assistance not needed any longer.

11. In order to fill some of the gaping holes in the tapestry of factual resource material available today on Indian history, cultures and so on, from the ancient past *up to the present time*, the Bureau of Indian Affairs should budget for the production of increased quantities of publications, film strips, tape recordings and other materials to be used educationally, both for classrooms and for use in public instruction. Wherever possible, Indian resource people should be utilized to prepare these materials. Such materials should be developed on at least all of the major tribes not already covered by B.I.A. publications, and older material should be revised, as soon as possible. These steps will help erase some of the terrible misconceptions now held as truths by the majority of people.

It is earnestly hoped that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has finally recognized, along with a growing segment of our country's population, that Indians are a people who have their own historical right to act as Indians within the framework of what remains of their culture, if they so desire, accepting what they deem good of the "new" culture surrounding them without having to reject their ancestral background. The strengths, dignity and beauty of their cultures have contributed immeasureably to enrich the culture of this country, past and present, and such contributions should no more be overlooked than that of any of the world's races whose people inhabit this country. All of our children learn in detail about the peoples of the other countries of the world, but how little they really learn of the people who were here when the others came, and who are *still* here, their growing numbers refusing any longer to remain ignored, invisible and silent!

E. Field Report—Minnesota

1. BACKGROUND

The Indian population of Minnesota, variously estimated between 24,000 and 30,000 is concentrated in three areas: the Red Lake Reservation, approximately the size of the State of Rhode Island; reservation lands in the northern part of the State; and the urban Twin Cities area. The table and map following detail the population's distribution.

Minnesota Indian population

Sioux	385
Upper Sioux	100
Lower Sioux	175
Prior Lake	10
Prairie Island	100
Chippewa	9,515
Grand Portage	175
Fond du Lac	740
Nett Lake	400
Red Lake	3,200
White Earth	2,150
Leech Lake	2,350
Mille Lacs	500
Indians Living Adjacent to Reservations	2,000
Urban	11,000
Duluth	1,000
St. Paul	2,000
Minneapolis	8,000
Other	2,000
Total	24,000

Map of Indian Reservation Areas in Minnesota deleted because of Illogibility.

Although the great majority of these Indians are Chippewa, probably fewer than 10% of them are full-blood. Economically, they suffer by comparison with the rest of the State's residents; the Bureau of the Census Report for 1965 indicated that the median income of Minnesota Indians was about one-third the median income for the State as a whole. Unemployment is high, the welfare load heavy, and many Indians do not yet have adequate housing.

Searching for employment, many reservation Indians leave the north to relocate in the urban areas. Whether high school graduate or non-high school graduate, however, they tend primarily to secure blue-collar jobs and, to date at least, have not entered the white-collar ranks to any significant extent. A study of the employment of urban Indians in Chicago, conducted by Richard G. Woods and Arthur M. Harkins of the University of Minnesota followed a similar study of Indian Employment in Minneapolis. In the Chicago study, the investigators come to the following conclusion:

> "* * * The formal educational process for substantial numbers of urban Indian Americans in both Minneapolis and Chicago does not seem to be working very well, especially when judged in terms of the employment outcomes of educational achievement.

The following paragraph describes the Minnesota Indian about whom the authors are speaking; that is a "typical" applicant to the city's American Indian Employment Center.

He was a young or middle-aged single male who reported having no physical defects, and was not a military service veteran. He was from one-fourth to full-blooded Chippewa and was born at White Earth Reservation, Red Lake Reservation, or some specific town, and came to Minneapolis from White Earth Reservation, Red Lake Reservation, Leech Lake Reservation, or some specific town. He did not have a car, which probably necessitated using the public transportation system. He had a telephone, but had lived in the Twin Cities less than one year and at his present address less than one year. He tended to give no answer when asked the cost of his rent and utilities, but if he did answer, he reported the cost at between $55 and $99 per month. He tended to report receiving no aid from the BIA, but if he did report receiving aid, it was relocation assistance. He was not a high school graduate, had no special skills or training, but expressed an interest in further education and training.

2. ENROLLMENT STATISTICS

According to the State Department of Education's report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the school year 1965–1966, there were 2,438 Indians residing on tax free land attending Minnesota public schools. Of these, over half, or 1,549 attended schools which were predominantly Indian; 889 attended schools in which Indians constituted a minority group. By the 1967–68 school year, the number had increased to 2,577.

In 1966–67 in the state as a whole, some 5,800 Indian pupils attended Minnesota schools, 1,350 of whom were identified in a sight count in the

Minneapolis system, thus comprising 2% of that city's school population. Of the state's 29 school districts, 9 of them enroll 100 or more Indian pupils, and an additional fifteen enroll more than 10 but fewer than 100. Enrollment of Minnesota Indians in Bureau boarding schools during 1968–1969, includes 17 students in boarding schools in Oklahoma, 14 students attending Haskell Institute in Kansas, and 12 attending the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Except for two elementary youngsters, the remainder are all at the high school or post-high school level.

In summarizing the enrollment situation for Minnesota's children and youth, a 1965 publication of the Governor's Human Rights Commission states:

> All Indian pupils of compulsory school age in Minnesota are now enrolled in public schools with the exception of about 120 children attending the mission school at White Earth and 250 attending the mission school at Red Lake. Transportation facilities now make it possible for most Indian children to live at home while attending public schools.

Complete statistics regarding Minnesota Indians enrolled in programs of higher education are not available. However, during the 1967–68 school year, 170 Indian students held state or federal scholarships or a combination of both. It is interesting that Indians who *do* complete high school often secure additional education. The League of Women Voters noted in their study of the urban Indian that "most receive some further education, about half in vocational schools and one-fourth to one-third in colleges." The study continues, however, that "increased efforts are needed to lower the current 16% dropout rate for those receiving scholarship assistance."

3. ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Unlike many of the other states with Indian residents, the vast majority of Minnesota's Indian students are educated by public schools under the state's jurisdiction. There are no Bureau of Indian Affairs schools in the state, and only a handful of students attend out-of-state boarding schools or mission schools.

The State's responsibility for Indian education dates back to 1936 when a contract between the State and the Bureau of Indian Affairs was signed. Currently Indian education is administered by a section of the Division of Administration, State Board of Education. A Director of Indian Education is located in the state office, and two full-time professional staff—a Supervisor of Indian Education, and a Guidance Counselor—are located in a branch office of the Department at Bemidji, the geographical center of the Indian population.

A second field office is located in Duluth, Minn. In recent years the State has moved toward hiring more Indians for administrative posts. The State Director of Indian Education is an Indian, for example, as are the two administrators of the Adult Basic Education program.

For the purposes of Johnson-O'Malley allocations, the State distinguishes between so-called budgeted and non-budgeted districts. A budgeted school district is one which enrolls a large percentage of Indian students. Non-budgeted districts are those in which "eligible" Indian students represent a small fraction of the school population. According to the rules by which Johnson-O'Malley monies are granted, an eligible Indian is one who resides on or near tax-free land and has at least one-quarter Indian blood. For budgeted school districts, Johnson-O'Malley monies are computed on the basis of a district's "unmet needs" for funds after other state and federal funds have been applied. In non-budgeted school districts, Johnson-O'Malley funds are granted "only for special services furnished to eligible Indian students such as lunch, transportation, school health services, and minor administrative costs." A similar distinction is made by the State of Arizona.

At a meeting of State and BIA personnel in October, 1967, "It was strongly recommended that Minnesota schools enrolling students who qualify and are receiving Johnson-O'Malley funds explore the possibilities of innovations in education to better meet the needs of the individual students." The regulation promulgated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs that residence on or near tax-free land determines eligibility has precluded the receipts of any JOM funds by the city of Minneapolis.

The June 1969 State plan for the use of Johnson O'Malley funds distinguishes between JOM funds used for the special educational needs of Indians and those used for supplementing a district's operating budget. The plan defines "Special Services Grants" and "Maintenance Grants." The latter "May be awarded to educational agencies where the number of eligible Indian children equals 25% or more of the total enrollment for fiscal year 1970, and 75% or more of the total enrollment for fiscal year 1971, and if the local tax base is insufficient to provide for the basic educational needs of the student." Maintenance grants, however, "shall be limited to school districts which can show extraordinary and exceptional circumstances, and should be considered an emergency measure until such time as an adequate fiscal base can be established."

The 1969 State plan has several other interesting features. It provides, for example, for the initiation of special services and programs by the State educational agency itself when deemed necessary by the State commissioner of education. It provides, also, that "The stated needs of the local educational agencies and the assessed needs of the total State will be continually reviewed by the Director of Indian Education to provide criteria for program administration and operation. Departmental personnel, representatives of Federal, State, and private agencies and institutions, representatives from the Indian communities, and other persons so designated by the Commissioner who may assist in the development of educational services for Indian children, will be included in this study process."

The 1969 plan also reports that three educational service centers will provide special services on a geographical basis for those areas having the highest concentration of Indian children; two of the Centers will be located close to the reservation areas of the State while the third will be located within the State department of education in St. Paul. Additional information presented in the State plan reveals State officials who are actively working with the Indian people to develop a State-wide educational improvement program.

Other sources of federal funds for Minnesota Indian education are, as with other States, P.L. 874, P.L. 815, and the special project P.L. 89–10 funds. Receipts for the 1967–68 school year for Indians' education in reservation areas are shown below:

Amount of contract from BIA	283,000
Contribution by state	612,950
Local receipts	46,399
JOM receipts	253,819
P.L. 874	257,612
Total expenditures	$1,323,264

Minnesota Indian education seems to yield somewhat better results than in some other states with Indian student populations. In comparison with non-Indian students in the rest of the nation however, the results are not satisfactory. As reported to the Subcommittee by John Buckanaga, former Executive Director of the Indian Affairs Commission and former Chairman of the Consolidated Chippewa—

> A 1964 survey by educationally concerned agencies has indicated that the average educational level of Minnesota Indians is 8.1; the average non-Indian nationality is well beyond 11.5.

At the same time, more Indians are being graduated from high school than in previous years, though the numbers are still appallingly small. In June, 1966, 196 Indian seniors were graduated in comparison with 64 in 1964 and only 8 in 1945. Graduates in 1967 and 1968, as compared to the total enrollment, are shown on the table following, prepared by State education officials.

MINNESOTA INDIAN SCHOOL POPULATION AND HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

	Population		Graduates	
	1967	1968	1967	1968
On or near reservations	2,467	2,468	105	120
Minneapolis	1,350	1,500	10	22
St. Paul	900	950	7	11
Duluth	157	163	3	8
Total urban	2,407	2,613	20	41
Other communities	1,000	1,000	68	63
Total	5,874	6,100	193	224

On the whole, Minnesota Indian children's school achievement is poor. *The Minnesota Chippewa Indians: A Handbook for Teachers* reports that a grade of D is the mode for high school academic subjects and that standardized tests given by secondary schools usually rank Indians well below average in achievement.

Statistics presenting the drop-out rate are contradictory, ranging from 50% to 85% depending on the source. One source presents the situation as follows:

> Recent annual reports by the Director of Indian Education in Minnesota routinely reveals that although the situa-

> tion has greatly improved, we still have a drop-out rate approaching 50%. The average daily attendance for Indian children averages two to five per cent lower than that for non-Indian children in the same schools. Almost one-fourth of the Indian eighth graders are over-age in grade and the figure increases for higher grades.

In some areas of the State, the drop-out rate is considerably higher. The Harkins' study found that few young people at the White Earth reservation graduate from high school and that some schools have dropout rates that in given years approach 100%. The average drop-out rate of the reservation ranges somewhere between 60% and 75%. A study of the Red Lake Reservation reports a drop-out rate of 84% as typical. Figures compiled by personnel at the State level present essentially the same picture:

Student retention grades 9–12

	Percent
United States (national average)	75
Minnesota (State average)	87
Minnesota Indians	31

A statistical comparison made by the State Education Department revealed that over a nine year period (1956–1967), of some 589 students who were in the ninth grade, only 143 were found three years later in the twelfth grade; that is, only 24.3%. In a second group of students, however, the schools maintained a 35.4% staying power. Although neither of these percentages is particularly commendable, the difference between the two is of interest. The first group was comprised of students from elementary schools in which they were a minority. The second group, on the other hand, consisted of Indian students whose elementary and secondary schools were in the same system and in which they were a minority group throughout. These figures suggest that the change from a majority to a minority group status increases the likelihood of students' dropping out. The Harkins study analyzes the drop-out question in much the same way, noting that the bordertown high school places stresses on students who have become accustomed to being the majority population in their village elementary schools.

4. MENTAL HEALTH, INDIAN INVOLVEMENT, AND STATE RESPONSIVENESS

Like Indians in the rest of the country, Minnesota Indians are not sufficiently involved in the schools nor are the schools sufficiently responsive to them or their culture.

As Harkins says:

> Neither the elementary schools nor the bordertown secondary schools * * * teach knowledge and respect for Chippewa tribal traditions and values, in part because knowledge of these traditions and values is scant to the vanishing point.

A study by Kerekhoff of Chippewa School children suggests that this failure helps account for the Indian's poor record of academic achievement. The study showed a negative relationship between measures of alienation and the Chippewa's achievement motivation; that is, the more alienated the student, the less motivation he had to achieve. The pattern of influences may be circular, with feelings of alienation producing low achievement motivation which then produces poor performance which in turn produces feelings of alienation.

In their daily school encounters, Indian pupils in Minnesota are not likely to find many Indian models of success. It has been estimated there are fewer than 20 Indian teachers and not many more Indian teacher aides. Indians in supervisory positions are almost nonexistent.

The University of Minnesota instituted a Department of Indian Studies in the fall of 1969, which leads to a bachelor's degree in American Indian Studies. The program seeks to contribute to an understanding of contemporary problems and issues, as well as aid in the training of students whose careers will involve work with Indian people.

For the most part, the school curriculum presented to Minnesota's Chippewa and Sioux is the same as that presented to the Anglo middle-class child, although some efforts are being made to develop materials which are culturally sensitive. One of these materials is the *Minnesota Chippewa Indians: A Handbook for Teachers*. Published in 1967 by the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory (authors: Dean Crawford, Professor of Education at the University of Minnesota at Duluth; David L. Peterson, principal of Cook County's Elementary School at Grand Portage; and Virgil Wurr, principal of the Nett Lake elementary school) the Handbook explicitly proposes to affect attitudes:

> We, as teachers,

Says the Preface,

> believe that Indians should be accorded the same rights as other citizens in choosing their way of life; that formal education in a public school can assist them in making those choices; that relatively few Indian children in Minnesota today are getting that kind of assistance; and that the two facets of this problem which we might be able to influence are (1) the Indian child's perception of himself and his aspirations, and (2) the teachers' attitudes concerning Indians and their education.

To effect this influence, the authors provide chapters on Chippewa characteristics and history, suggestions on how to use such information in the classroom and a resource unit. Despite the usefulness and importance of the Handbook, however, it is only a beginning. Development of materials for children's use in social studies, history, literature, and reading remains a critical need.

Both the presence of Indian teachers and the availability of appropriate curricula would, in all probability, lessen the Indian child's alienation by making the school less foreign and less a source of conflict. Effective involvement of Indian parents in educational decision-making would undoubtedly produce similar effects.

The distance between the parents and the schools is illustrated by one of Harkins' findings. Whereas 96% of Indian parents who were asked thought that people who went to school got better jobs than people who did not go to school, only a third of this same group knew that a *diploma* was necessary for employment.

Parental involvement in some schools is not, however, wholly absent. In Minneapolis in 1967, two PTA chairmen were Indians, with other Indians on local school boards. Furthermore, the Minneapolis schools established an Indian advisory board to advise the school board through their Urban Affairs Office.

The chart below presents selected school board membership.

SELECTED SCHOOL BOARDS IN MINNESOTA

	Number of school board members	Number of Indians on school board	Number of students	Number of Indian students	Percent of Indian
Red Lake	6	6	353	327	93
White Earth	3	3	94	65	70
Mahnomen	6	0	1,030	137	13
Nett Lake	6	5	116	106	91
Grand Portage	6	0	1,064	45	4
Cass Lake	6	0	900	103	11
Walker	6	0	884	100	12
Bagley	6	0	1,147	114	10

Membership of Indians on boards or committees, however, is not necessarily synonymous with meaningful involvement, as the assessment by Harkins demonstrates. Having examined the situation on the White Earth Reservation, he writes:

> On the whole, the village schools operate with the rubber stamp sanction of the all—or nearly all—Indian membership of the school boards, who fall under the close attention of the Indian branch of the Minnesota State Department of Education. The Indian village school boards usually find their most effective range of responses to the school occurring in menial areas of decision-making; for example, whether the schools will be open for extra-curricular activities or not, and whether a given functionary (janitor, cook, driver, aide, etc.) should be retained, disciplined, or whatever * * * The functionaries are * * * the personnel of the school who give board members some sense of power and control over school operations. But this control and power operates at a very low structural level indeed. Indian school boards in the villages may occasionally challenge a teacher for behavioral misconduct regarding children, but it is rare for a teacher to be fired by the school board for any reason.

One unique effort in Indian education occurred the summer of 1968 in Minnesota under the sponsorship of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Indian Division. A summer camp called Indian Circle was held to teach Indian high school students about Indian culture and tradition, past and present. The 125 participants, 2 per tribe, were nominated and selected by their respective tribal councils. Twenty counselors—college students nominated by their tribal councils, and six instructors completed the staff. A Minnesota Indian served as Director of the project; 14 of the participants were from Minnesota as were five of the counselors and one instructor. The participants were enthusiastic about their exposures to Indian culture and history, and wanted Indian history to be taught in their own school, not just for Indian students but for non-Indians as well. The students' enthusiastic response to their exposure to an educational experience which showed respect for their Indian heritage demonstrates again the insensitivity of the typical school curriculum to the needs of the Indian child. In an article in *Education for All*, one of the State officials responsible for Indian education remarks:

> The state curriculum guides are used in all these schools, and Indian students get the same type of instruction, consideration, and counseling given to all other students.

Perhaps that is precisely the problem.

Little research evidence is available to describe and document the psychological effects of the Minnesota Indian students confrontation with a culturally different school environment. One effect, as suggested previously, is that of alienation. Indications of a high delinquency rate among Indian youth may be thought of as another effect, or perhaps, as itself a product of the alienated condition.

Statistics detailing delinquency and crime rates for the Minnesota Indian population are not readily available. Information is available, however, for Beltrami County, a county in the northern part of the State including the Red Lake Reservation area with its 3,000 Indians, and an off-reservation Indian population of about 500. A County Judge, M. A. Reed, presented information to the Subcommittee pointing out that the court has jurisdiction only over the non-Reservation Indians. Excerpts from his letter appear below:

> The municipal Court of the City of Bemidji has an exceptionally large number of people arrested for drunk, drunk and disorderly, driving under the influence, and driving without a driver's license * * * Over 50% of those arrested for these types of offenses are Indians.
>
> * * *
>
> An exceedingly large number of children require Aid to Dependent Children and foster home placement either on a voluntary basis or formal court actions. On December 31, 1967, 46 children were in foster homes under court order after a finding in Juvenile Court that they were neglected. Forty of the 46 children were Indian.
>
> * * *
>
> A total of 181 delinquency petitions were filed in this Court during the calendar year of 1967. Fifty-five of these petitions concerned Indian children. Keeping in mind that the Court only has jurisdiction over delinquent acts committed by non-Reservation Indians or delinquent acts committed off the Reservation by Reservation Indians and has jurisdiction only

> over truancy of Indian residents on the Reservation, it can be seen that there is a very high incidence of delinquency petitions involving Indians.
>
> * * *
>
> As of November 30, 1968, a total of 13 juveniles and youthful offenders * * * are under the supervision of the Youth Conservation Commission of this state * * * These are all of the children now in state institutions or on probation or parole from state institutions from this county. Seven of the 13 are Indian.
>
> * * *
>
> As of November 30, 1968, a total of 49 Beltrami County children were under formal probation having been adjudicated delinquent by this Court. Sixteen of the 49 are Indian. Keeping in mind that the Court does not have jurisdiction over offenses committed on the Reservation and including Reservations only about 15% of the population is Indian, over one-half of the juveniles and youth committed to the State of Minnesota for possible institution care are Indians and over one-third of those adjudicated and placed on probation are Indian.

More poignant, than any of these statistics, however, is the case of Dane White, a thirteen-year-old Indian boy who hanged himself by his belt in a jail cell after having been kept in jail for 41 days, almost all of it in isolation, without ever having had a court hearing, or counsel, to actually adjudge the youngster delinquent. The boy was apprehended on a car theft incident with three older boys, and as an editorial in the Minneapolis Star puts it:

> The unconscionable time the boy was jailed hinged on the impossibility of getting both parents of each of the four boys together, a legal requirement. That he was in jail at all was due to red tape that prevented his being placed in a detention center; and no temporary foster home could be found for him.

An investigation of the death and the circumstances surrounding it was made by the Attorney General of the State, Douglas Head. The report condemns public officials for not adequately having explored the availability of alternative facilities for the boy, and comments too on the fact of his being an Indian. Although finding that there were "insufficient facts" to show that Dane White was discriminated against because of his race, it did say that it may have been a factor in his "excessively long" stay in jail. In addition,

"The relatively low socio-economic status of most Indians in the area, we suggest, also promoted indifference. From our investigation we received the impression that some persons assumed that the jail was superior to Dane's own home, and that the boy would not, accustomed as he supposedly was to the low standards of living, object to staying in what is admittedly a 'clean, well-maintained jail.'

That the jailer and his wife had no suspicion of the boy's desperation is also part of the tragedy. He was a "nice kid with a bright smile." The report suggests that "It was not unlikely that Dane was acting out how he had been taught as an Indian to act in front of white persons of authority." It also notes that Dane's "father appeared reluctant to communicate with public officials."

The parents "demonstrated their concern over the boy's incarceration by trying to make (a) boarding school arrangement * * * yet they never objected to court or law enforcement officials about Dane's remaining in jail. They appeared somewhat confused by the system, and we suggest that this confusion stems, to some extent, from their experiences as Indians in white society."

Although the educational system cannot be held responsible for the suicide of Dane White or, for that matter, of other Indian youngsters who take their own lives, it exists within a society and reflects the society which allows such occurrences to take place. Their frequency should serve to warn both the educators and the general population that the Indian student in the Anglo school is subject to unique pressures and requires special understanding and specially designed programs. Although, the state of Minnesota is making currently new efforts to more adequately serve its Indian students (see Appendix A) the programs have reached and will reach only a fraction of the needy group.

The establishment in 1968 of a State advisory committee in Indian education demonstrates an interest in the problems and a willingness to address them. But, the problems are complex, and extend beyond the usually circumscribed public educational arena into the larger fabric of social attitudes. Before the Indian is favored with equality of educational opportunity, society at large, and not just a group of enlightened educators, will have to demonstrate both concern and commitment.

5. Minnesota—Appendix

A. EXISTING INDIAN ORGANIZATIONS WITH INTERESTS IN INDIAN EDUCATION

(1.) Indian Parent Education Committee

Organized in school year 1967–68, this committee was composed of 10–15 parents of children in the Minneapolis public schools. This group invited a variety of education-engaged representatives to take part in their bimonthly meetings—school authorities, Indian college students, Bureau of Indian Affairs officials, staff of the University of Minnesota's Training Center for Community Programs. The Indian Parent Education Committee was instrumental in development of an Indian advisory committee to the Minneapolis Public Schools and in stimulation of widespread Indian initiative in the formulation of proposal and subsequent operation of the Minneapolis Indian Upward Bound Program. For the most part, the efforts of this committee are now contributed within the framework of these two programs.

(2.) Advisory committee to the Minneapolis public schools

This committee worked with elementary and secondary school administrators in development and operation of a one-week in-service training workshop on Indian education as part of the summer staff development program in the Minneapolis public schools. Held in August, 1968, this workshop represented the first organized effort by the schools to study problems of Indian students. (A November 1967, racial sight count indicated that 1,350 students—about 2% of system total—are Indian.) Sponsored by the Minneapolis Public Schools' Human Relations Committee, Indian parents and agency representatives, the University of Minnesota Training Center staff, and State Department of Education representatives all contributed to program development.

An on-going effort in which this advisory committee is continuously involved is development and revision of plans for a Minneapolis Family Indian Education Project.

(*3.*) *Upper Midwest American Indian Center*

This Center serves one of two heavily populated Indian neighborhoods in Minneapolis. It provides neighborhood services to Indians and serves as the governing body and financial administrator for the STAIRS (Service To American Indian Resident Students) tutorial project.

(*4.*) *Minneapolis Indian Upward Bound: Board of Directors*

This all-Indian board of directors has been responsible for development of objectives and implementation of program proposal, including hiring of personnel (academic year portion began October 1, 1968).

(*5.*) *Northside Indian Teen Council—Southside Indian American Youth Council*

In winter-spring 1968, these groups organized seminars on Indian history and culture, produced a publication on youth activities in Minneapolis, and developed proposals for summer programs. In summer 1968, both groups operated youth centers for recreation, social service, and leadership activities, under grants from the Hennepin County Economic Opportunity Program (OEO-funded).

(*6.*) *American Indian Fellowship Association—Duluth*

In 1968, this group has actively developed plans and position requests for a Duluth schools human relations coordinator .They submitted a proposal to the local community action program where it was accepted and subsequently sent to the Chicago regional office.

(*7.*) *Minnesota Chippewa Tribe*

Through the State Indian Scholarship Committee and the Tribal Executive Committee, the Tribe supports and administers a scholarship and loan program for Indian students within its tribal enrollment.

Through the separate Reservation Business Committees and their affiliated community action program agencies, Head Start programs are conducted in six of the 10 Chippewa reservations and Sioux communities.

The Tribe also acts as sponsor for Federally-funded youth and adult training programs, such as the Indian Youth Leadership Training Program held at Bemidji State College in 1964 and 196, the adult program in 1965, and Indian Circle in 1968.

F. Field Report—Arizona

1. BACKGROUND

(Explanatory Note: The report on Arizona Indian education which follows deals only briefly and in passing with education of the Navajo people. The size of the Navajo tribe, its unique educational history, and the complexity of any discussion of Navajo education today demand separate treatment. Although portions of one report overlap with the other, the two are, for the most part, complementary. This report, and the report of Navajo education should be taken together as a study of Indian education in the Southwest.)

With a larger number of full-blooded Indians than any other state in the nation, and with 27 percent of its land area being Indian reservation land, Arizona is home to a sizable proportion of the Indian population of the United States. As the map on the following page indicates, reservation areas are spread throughout the state, the largest being that part of the Navajo reservation in Arizona's northeastern section. The Navajo population, comprising about half of all Navajos in the Southwest, along with the populations of its seventeen other Indian reservations, brings the total Indian population of the state to a little over 80,000. The distribution, by tribe and reservation, is shown below.[1]

POPULATION OF ARIZONA RESERVATIONS

Indian agency	Reservation	Classification	Population
Colorado River, Parker, Ariz	Cocopah	Cocopah	80
	Colorado River	Mohave-Chemehuevi	1,368
Fort Apache, White River, Ariz	Fort Apache	White Mountains, Apache.	4,050
Hopi, Keams Canyon, Ariz	Hopi	Hopi	4,270
	Kaibab	Paiute	95
Navajo, Window Rock, Ariz	Navajo	Navajo	52,207
Papago, Sells, Ariz	Papago	Papago	4,400
	San Xavier	do	420
	Gila Bend	do	125
Pima, Sacaton, Ariz	Gila River	Pima-Maricopa	6,000
	Ak-Chin	Papago	140
Salt River, Scottsdale, Ariz	Salt River	Pima-Maricopa	1,650
	Fort McDowell	Yavapai	300
San Carlos, San Carlos, Ariz	San Carius	San Carlos Apache	4,115
Truxton Canyon, Valentine, Ariz	Camp Verde	Yavapai-Apache	170
	Hualapai	Hualapai	422
	Havasupai	Havasupai	186
	Yavapai	Yavapai	73
			80,071

Note: The above figures were supplied through the courtesy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and does not include the thousands of off-reservation members of tribes. The Navajo population is for Arizona only.

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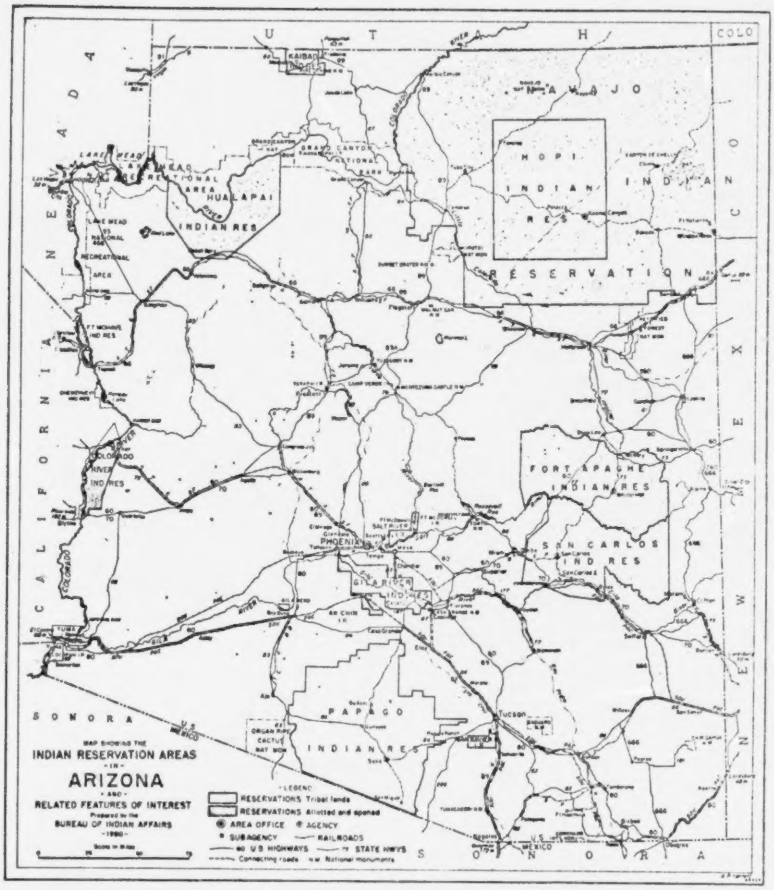
[1] *1967–68 Annual Report of the Arizona Commission on Indian Affairs* (Phoenix) Mimeographed.


U T A H
COLO
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
NEW MEXICO
SONORA
NAVAJO INDIAN RESERVATION
HOPI INDIAN RES
KAIBAB IND RES
GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK
LAKE MEAD NATIONAL RECREATIONAL AREA
HUALAPAI INDIAN RES
FT MOHAVE IND RES
CHEMEHUEVI IND RES
COLORADO RIVER IND RES
FORT APACHE INDIAN RES
SAN CARLOS IND RES
SALT RIVER
PHOENIX
GILA RIVER IND RES
PAPAGO INDIAN RES
ORGAN PIPE CACTUS NAT MON
Tucson
YUMA
U.S. MEXICO
MAP SHOWING THE
INDIAN RESERVATION AREAS
- IN -
ARIZONA
- AND -
RELATED FEATURES OF INTEREST
Prepared by the
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
- 1960 -
Scale in Miles
LEGEND
RESERVATIONS Tribal lands
RESERVATIONS Allotted and opened
AREA OFFICE
AGENCY
SUBAGENCY
RAILROADS
U S HIGHWAYS
STATE HWYS
Connecting roads
National monuments

Data from the 1960 census provides a breakdown of the Arizona Indian population by counties, showing a total for the State's 14 counties of 83,387 persons comprising 6.4 percent of the State's total population. Figures for each county, including figures of the Spanish-surname population as well, are presented below.

INDIAN AND SPANISH SURNAME POPULATION IN ARIZONA, BY COUNTIES, IN APRIL 1960

County	Total population	Indian population	Percent of Indians in total population	Number of persons of Spanish surname	Percent of population with Spanish surname
Apache	30,438	22,814	75.0	1,033	3.4
Cochise	55,039	108	.2	13,764	25.0
Coconino	41,857	11,668	27.9	4,341	10.4
Gila	25,745	3,513	13.6	5,633	21.9
Graham	14,045	1,249	8.9	2,355	16.8
Greenlee	11,509	182	1.6	5,238	45.5
Maricopa	663,510	8,136	1.2	78,996	11.9
Mohave	7,736	727	9.4	630	8.1
Navajo	37,994	19,324	50.9	2,604	6.9
Pima	265,660	7,307	2.8	44,481	16.7
Pinal	62,673	5,760	9.2	17,343	27.7
Santa Cruz	10,808	17	.2	6,222	57.6
Yavapai	28,912	780	2.7	2,403	8.3
Yuma	46,235	1,802	3.9	9,313	20.1
Total	1,302,161	83,387	6.4	194,356	14.9

INDIAN AND SPANISH SURNAME POPULATION IN ARIZONA BY COUNTIES IN APRIL 1960

County	Combined Indian and Spanish surname population	Percent of total population
Apache	23,847	78.4
Cochise	13,872	25.2
Coconino	16,009	38.3
Gila	9,146	35.5
Graham	3,604	25.7
Greenlee	5,420	47.1
Maricopa	87,132	13.1
Mohave	1,357	17.5
Navajo	21,928	57.8
Pima	51,788	19.5
Pinal	23,103	36.9
Santa Cruz	6,239	57.8
Yavapai	3,183	11.0
Yuma	11,115	24.0
Totals	277,743	21.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census tand annual report of the Arizona Commission on Indian Affairs, Phoenix, Ariz., 1967-68.

Their relative frequency in the State population does not, however, seem to relate positively to the Arizona Indians' employability. According to school officials, 50% of the parents of children on the Sells Papago reservation are unemployed; [2] according to a 1964 report [3] some 500 persons out of a total male-labor force of 750 from the San Carlos Apache Reservation were unemployed; and according to testimony before the Subcommittee [4] the unemployment rate of White Mountain Apache Indians from the Fort Apache Indian Reservation is 50%. This same reservation also reports an infant mortality rate of 99.2 out of 1,000, as compared to the rate of 26 out of 1,000 for the nation as a whole; not only are half of the potential employees unemployed, their babies die, for whatever reasons, almost four times more frequently than infants in other parts of the country.

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[2] Dorothy Cummings. "Public Law 89–10 and Some of Its Applications to Schools on Arizona's Indian Reservations," Mimeographed.

[3] "1964 Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs," reported in Edward A. Parmee, *Formal Education and Culture Change: A Modern Apache Indian Community and Government Education Programs*, (University of Arizona Press: Tucson, 1968).

[4] Ronald Lupe, Tribal Chairman, in Hearings in Flagstaff, Arizona, March, 1968.

One study of the Papago Indians went beyond the question of "unemployment" and revealed an important finding. Distinguishing between Indians who are "unemployed" and those who are "idle" i.e. in social and psychological trouble, William H. Kelly of the University of Arizona's Department of Anthropology, Bureau of Ethnic Research, discussed the Papago study:

> In the same 1960 census report, 23 percent of all Indian males were tabulated as being outside the labor force and not in school or in an institution. These are the idle and the physically and mentally disabled. The 1964 Papago survey records 26 percent of adult males in this category of whom 14 percent were idle and 12 percent disabled or over-age. This is the highest percentage of idle men found in any ethnic group in this country.[5]

A study bearing on unemployment and economic development on still another of Arizona's reservations—Salt River—announces a similar conclusion. In this situation, five to ten percent of the potential work force were found to be engaged in regular full-time employment, while irregular part-time and seasonal employment accounted for 85 to 90 percent of all male employment. Seeking to explain the employment pattern, the investigators report the following:

> The women are less intimidated and inhibited in seeking off-reservation work than the men. This results in the role reversal between husbands and wives—women work and the men stay home and care for the children.
>
> The manner in which the men have been socialized with respect to both their personal identity as males and to the world of white man's work is perhaps the most central factor in their behavior. An oversimplified but probably generally correct description of the people is one of strong women and weak men. Male children have most readily available to them adult males, including many fathers, who serve as identificatory models of poor work habits and execessive use of alcohol. A commitment to regular full-time employment may symbolize capitulation to the demands of the women that they work, submissions to the "pushy" ways of the white, and a general relinquishment of what autonomy and freedom they have. Finally, it may be noted that employment requiring removal from the reservation carries a potential threat of losing claim to the land as a result of prolonged or continued absence. All these factors coupled with a myth that the Indian is incapable of competing in the off-reservation work world no doubt contribute heavily toward the production of male personalities which are indeed ill-equipped for survival in an industrial society.[6]

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[5] William H. Kelly, Director of E. R., Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona, Tucson.

[6] Harry W. Martin, Robert Leon, M.D., and John Gladfelter, "The Salt River Reservation: A Proposal for the Development of its Human Services Branch," A Consultation Report to the Community Services Branch, B.I.A., May 1, 1967.

A third study dealing with male employment focuses, again, on the Papago, and comes to the interesting and somewhat surprising conclusion that those men who have had the most exposure to Anglo culture and values, largely through the schools, are the least likely to remain in an off-reservation job. One wonders if the Papago men described by Waddell below were rewarded during their school careers for being "good" students:

> The most unstable and undependable farm laborers from the farmers' points of view were those who could use English well, those who have had extended exposure to schools and vocational programs, and those who comprehended the meaning of certain Anglo values. These seem to be among those most prone to job-jumping and voluntary unemployment. Most of it can be attributed to age and an unreadiness to feel obligated to settle down, but much of the behavior can be explained in terms of dissonance or the inability to articulate the understanding they have of Anglo cultural values with a significant motivation to implement these values.[7]

Studies of employment stability and unemployment statistics are one index of the success of an educational program. Reviewing those available for Arizona, one cannot help but conclude that the system is failing. While many individuals are inadequately educated and trained to function in the job market, those who have had such opportunities are "the most unstable and undependable." Waddell's study of Papago suggests that extended exposure to educational programs as they are presently constituted may produce, as much as anything else, conflict and uncertainty. Achievement data, to be presented later, give further evidence of the failure of the system to educate adequately.

2. STATISTICS CONCERNING ARIZONA INDIAN EDUCATION

Indian education in Arizona encompasses approximately 33,000 students enrolled in public, BIA, and mission schools approximately as follows: Public—13,000; BIA—17,000; Mission—3,000.[8] Although sources differ in their estimates of the total number and the proportion of the Indian student body in Bureau and public schools, the trend, as shown by the statistics, is definitely toward the public schools.[9] According to State records:

> During the period of 1957 to 1966, the enrollment in BIA schools went from 9,964 to 14,259, while during the same period that in the public schools went from 5,225 to 11,986. This represents a percentage gain for the public schools from 34.4% to 46.8% of the state's total Indian enrollment.

Bureau schools are located on seven reservations and in Phoenix, the latter being the site of the Phoenix Indian School, one of the Bureau's off-reservation boarding schools.[10] Some twenty-one schools, three of which are boarding schools and one of which has boarding pupils, are operated in the Bureau's Phoenix Area. Under the jurisdiction of its Navajo Area, the Bureau operates another thirty-four schools, all but eight of which are primarily boarding institutions, in the State.[11] In Arizona's public educational system, 12,063 students were reported for the school year 1967–68 in Johnson-O'Malley schools and State officials report that in the eleven counties in Arizona having Johnson-O'Malley schools, 30 schools enroll 100 or more Indian students; 18 schools, 10 or more, and 8 schools, fewer than 10 Indian pupils.[12]

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[7] Jack Waddell, "Adaptation of Papago Workers to Off-Reservation Occupations," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1966. Quoted in Kelly 1967 speech, *Op. Cit.*

[8] Mamie Sizemore "Closing the Gap in Indian Education," Arizona State Department of Public Instruction, Division of Indian Education, 1967.

[9] See Navajo Report for discussion of the BIA policy of transference of educational responsibility to the public schools.

Some Indian students are enrolled in the public schools under the Peripheral Dormitory program. This program, instituted by the Bureau in 1955, enables some Indian youngsters whose homes are far from public schools to attend these schools during the day while living at nearby dormitories maintained by the BIA.[13] During the school year 1967–68, 1,148 students attended the Flagstaff, Winslow, Holbrook, and Snowflake schools under this program.

A survey done by the Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs in 1968 provides additional statistical information about Indian education in Arizona, from the tribal point of view. Surveying sixteen reservations, it was found that ten of the sixteen had a Tribal Education Committee; that 13 of the 16 felt that the Economic Opportunity Act had been helpful to the educational program;[14] that 7 of the 16 felt they had specific problems concerning the public schools and that 6 of the 16 felt they had specific problems concerning Bureau schools. Other information gathered brought to a total of 681 the number of students reported by the tribes to be in colleges, and 836 in vocational schools. Thus, out of the state's total Indian population—some 80,000 probably more—the grand total of students enrolled in educational programs beyond the high school level is 1,529 or 1.9 percent.

Several witnesses presenting testimony to the Subcommittee brought figures on the numbers of Tribal members attending or having been graduated from colleges. The White Mountain Apaches reported 6 graduates out of a tribal population of 5,300; the Papago, fewer than 10 graduates during its entire tribal history; the Salt River Pima-Maricopa have had no college graduates in over 30 years; and the Hopi, with 13 college graduates to date of a 6,000 member population, have 110 currently enrolled.

3. ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

The extremely low enrollment of Arizona Indian students in colleges and universities offers one indication of the general inferiority of their achievement. Many more are available. Officials of the State Department, for example, estimate that of every 1,000 Indian children who begin school, 90% reach the sixth grade, 50% reach the ninth grade, and only 25%, the twelfth.[15] Using this estimate, the dropout rate becomes 75 percent, not really much higher or lower than reported for Indian students in other areas. The state estimates then that of the Indian youth who do finish high school about 4 percent go on to college.

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[10] See Navajo Report for a discussion of the Phoenix Indian School.

[11] BIA, Division of Education. *Fiscal Year 1967, Statistics Concerning Indian Education*, pp. 19–20, 17–18.

[12] Responses from State Department of Public Instruction to Questionnaires mailed by National Study of American Indian Education, Pennsylvania State University, Herbert Aurbach.

[13] See Navajo Report for a discussion of the Peripheral or Bordertown Dormitory Program.

[14] Annual Report of the Arizona Commission on Indian Affairs, *Op. Cit.*

Preliminary summary data from a study done by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory fix the dropout rate somewhat lower. Of 345 eighth graders enrolled in schools in Arizona in the fall of 1962, the study found that 220 had been graduated and 125 or 36.2 percent had dropped out. When public school enrollment and dropout statistics are separated out of the Laboratory's totals for the State's estimate of half of the entering ninth graders dropping lic schools in the fall of 1962, 125 or 58.4 percent were graduated from public schools and 19 or 8.9 percent from the combination of BIA and private schools; two students (0.9%) were still in schools and 68 or 32.6 percent had dropped out. This rate, though less than the state's estimate of half of the entering ninth graders dropping out before the twelfth grade, is still cause for alarm.

A study of Southern Arizona school-age children conducted in 1966–67 looked at dropout rates and other achievement indices of a sample of Papago, Pima, and Maricopa children of one-quarter or more Indian ancestry. Several of its conclusions, quoted below, are revealing:

> —With extremely few exceptions, Indian children remain in school through the eighth grade. (This corresponds to the State's estimate for retention through the sixth grade, but not to its estimate that 50% of the students who begin school reach the ninth grade).
>
> —The high school dropout rate is serious, with 22.3 percent of all Indian students between the ages of 16 and 18 leaving school before graduation. Most seriously affected are the girls with a rate of 24.5%.
>
> —(In studying the 16 through 18 age group) early marriage, and often pregnancy, is the most frequent reason given when girls leave school.
>
> —The unexpected finding is that Indian students, once they enter high school, go through to graduation with little trouble provided they stay in school. The retention rate is less than for non-Indians (2.6% compared with 3.8%). The statistics however, may reflect no more than school policy. Indians in public schools are retained in high school grades at about the same rate as non-Indians while comparatively few Indians in federal and mission high schools are retained in grade.
>
> —A substantial majority of Indian students are behind in grade as measured by age. There are two principal reasons for this. Many Indian mothers do not send their children to school until they are seven, and a high percent-

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[15] Information supplied by Arizona State Department of Education.

age of Indian children spend four years getting through the first three grades. Subsequent retention in grade produces a final situation where 86 percent of 16, 17, and 18 year old Indian students are behind in grade.

—Among Indian students in the first three grades, those who attend federal day schools are much more apt to be retained in grade than those who attend public schools (12.9% to 8.7%).

—(With data from the school year ~~1965–66, it wa~~s found that) Indian boys attend more regularly than Indian girls, that promoted students have better attendance records than retained students, and that Papago children have ~~better attendance~~ records than Pima-Maricopa children.

Perhaps one of the most important finds of the Kelley study was the discovery that a large number of Indian students—or those who should be students—are unaccounted for by school authorities. The investigators wrote of it this way:

> We commenced the task with what appeared to be a simple problem of collecting enrollment lists and searching out what we thought would be the relatively few school-age children unknown to school teachers. We found not just a few, but a whopping 340 in the 16 through 18 age category alone * * * An estimated additional 894 in the 6 through 15 age group remain unknown and unaccounted for in our statistics.[16]

A not dissimilar situation exists in a neighboring Southwestern state, New Mexico. There, as reported by Anne Smith for fiscal year 1966, 2,365 children between the ages of six and 18 were not accounted for by school records.

Another study of Papago and Pima school enrollment, reported in 1966, collected census data and examined records for the 1965–66 school year. Records of some 5,680 Pima and Papago children were analyzed to determine dropout rates, percentages of children being held back in grade ("retained"), and other indices of performance in public and Bureau schools. These investigations, too, found that 7% of the school age population, age 6 to 16, were enrolled in no school at all.[17] Investigators Padfield, Hemingway, and Greenfield also report the following: the majority of the sample, or 61 percent, were living on reservations; more than half of the students were in public schools; progressively fewer students were attending school at each successive grade level; a sharp decline in enrollment occurred after grade 8; and large numbers of children were retained in the second and third grade.

In comparing promotion-retention percentages of the Pima and Papago students with those of the State as a whole, the authors point out that the retention percentages for the elementary level Indian population are higher, as the table following indicates:

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[16] William H. Kelley. "A Study of Southern Arizona School-Age Indian Children, 1966–67." Bureau of Ethnic Research, Department of Anthropology (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1967).

[17] Harland Padfield, Peter Hemingway, Philip Greenfield, "The Pima-Papago Education Population, A census and Analysis," Journal of American Indian Education, Vol. 6, Number 1, October, 1966.

PROMOTION/RETENTION OF PIMA-PAPAGO ENUMERATED SCHOOL POPULATION, GRADES 2 TO 12, COMPARED WITH STATE OF ARIZONA AND TUSCON DISTRICT NO. 1 SCHOOL POPULATION

	Pima-Papago		Tucson No. 1		Arizona	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Promoted	4,014	95.03	39,825	97.87	299,481	97.49
Retained	210	4.97	868	2.13	7,704	2.51
Total	4,224	100.00	40,693	100.00	307,185	100.00

Source: Superintendent of Public Instruction 1965: 45–46; Tucson District No. 1, 1965.

They note, however, that promotion-retention percentages for Indians at the high school level approximate the overall State percentages. This fact, combined with the fact of large decreases in enrollment after grade 8 suggests that those students who have been having the most difficulty have, by high school, dropped out.

Looking at promotion-retention data still another way, the investigators compared Indian students in schools in which they were and were not the majority population. They found that public schools in which the Indians were *not* the majority population retained them in grade *less* frequently; both public and Federal schools having a majority of Indian pupils retained them in grade with approximately the same frequency. The table following, Promotion/Retention of Pima-Papago by Type and Orientation of School, presents the statistical comparisons.

PROMOTION/RETENTION OF PIMA-PAPAGO BY TYPE AND ORIENTATION OF SCHOOL

INDIAN ORIENTED

	Public		Federal boarding		Federal day		Catholic	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Promoted	221	93.25	624	93.98	590	93.65	744	96.88
Retained	16	6.75	40	6.02	40	6.35	24	3.12
Total	237	100.00	664	100.00	630	100.00	768	100.00

NON-INDIAN ORIENTED

	Public		Catholic		Protestant	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Promoted	1,772	95.47	36	90.00	27	93.10
Retained	84	4.53	4	10.00	2	6.90
Total	1,856	100.00	40	100.00	29	100.00

Additional information regarding the education of Papago children is found in the report of a study of the Papago tribe, conducted as part of a larger effort to plan programs for proposals to the Office of

Economic Oportunity.[18] In January, 1965, the Education Committee of the Tribal Council of the Papago Tribe authorized the conduct of a survey "to determine the educational gaps that now exist on the Papago Reservation and make recommendation to the Tribe how these gaps may be feasibly met so that both Papago children and adults may be better prepared to enjoy a better way of life." Almost every village was visited over a six month period, with Papago interviewers spending a total of 192 days and traveling 11,000 miles. Information was gathered and suggestions invited from almost 1,000 members of the Tribe.

Among other things, the survey found parents repeatedly expressing their desire for more schooling for themselves and more schooling for their children than they had had: of a group of 669, 105 or 15.6% reported no schooling at all, and an additional 167 or 25% reported less than a fifth grade education. Regarding their facility with English, the survey found that of a group of 741, 212 or 28.6% spoke little or no English, and that 71.3% reported, "yes" they did speak English. The "yes" was a qualified one in many instances, and "observation indicates that even where English is spoken with ease and facility there is the tendency to speak in Papago if the person with whom conversation is being carried on speaks it." Furthermore, "If one adult in the family speaks little or no English it is reasonable to suppose that Papago will be predominantly spoken thus giving the children little everyday practice in the use of English." Analyzing educational information, it was found that of some 719 children, only 156, 21.6%, were on or above grade level, leaving a majority of 78.4% anywhere from one to five years retarded. High school students numbered 137, most of whom were attending off-reservation schools, and many adults expressed a hope that a high school could be built on the reservation to enable their children to remain at home.

The studies reported by Kelley and Padfield *et. al.* approach the question of academic performance through the collection and interpretation of census-type data; the Papago study takes a different approach, that of the interview survey. The study reported below takes a still different approach with the investigator, Edward Parmee, focussing in-depth on a single reservation: the San Carlos Apache.[19] His analysis deals with achievement as only one kind of educational effect. (Others of particular interest will be presented subsequently).

For the period about which Parmee was gathering data—1959 through 1961—he found the following:

—No Apache from the San Carlos reservation had in recent years graduated from a local college or university;

—In 1954, the median number of years of school completed was 8.2;

—That the ability of Apache students, as measured by IQ scores, *seemed* inferior to that of the non-Apache student: "The Apache students * * * tended to score below the national norms * * * to levels approximately 25 points lower on the verbal sections, and 10–15 points lower on the non-verbal sections. The differences between the verbal and non-verbal IQ's for Apaches were found to be statistically significant, an indication to some degree of the verbal handicap experiences by these students in school. (The assumption here is that a "slow learner" would have made similar low scores on both sections of the test)."

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[18] Irving Stout and Josiah Moore. *Report of a Survey to determine the education needs of Papago Children and Adults with recommendations for the fulfillment of these needs.* A.S.U., 1965.

[19] Edward Parmee. *Formal Education and Culture Change: A Modern Apache Indian Community and Government Education Program,* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968).

—That "grade-point averages for teen-age Apache students in the federal and mission boarding schools tended to be somewhat higher than for those students attending the integrated public schools. This was believed to be in part the result of the absence of non-Indian competition in the boarding schools. In the off-reservation integrated public schools there were many non-Indian low achievers, but the high achievers among the non-Indian group were very often the classroom pace setters, offering skill competition to low-achievers and Indians alike."

—That the age-grade lag among teen-age Apache students was sizable. In one school, approximately 47% were over-aged; another, 54%, and at three BIA boarding schools, the percentage went up to 63. Additionally, "a closer look at the data showed that within many of the classes or grade levels, the spread of age differences was considerable. In the Globe schools, for example, within grades 5, 6, 7, and 8, the age spread was as great as 7, 6, and 5 years respectively. There were 16-year old pupils attending classes with 9-year olds, 17-year old pupils in classes with 11-year olds, and so forth.

These findings confirm those of other investigators who have also found that the Indian students tend to be older than their classmates, and achieve less.

On the subject of achievement, Parmee points out a practice which, though apparently common, and perhaps well-intentioned, does not ultimately help the Indian child. "At the end of the 1959–60 school year," he says, "the records showed that no less than 44.4% of the Apache fifth graders at East Globe Elementary School were socially promoted to grade 6 and grade 7. * * * It can be said that over 50% of the Apache pupils in those classes were over-age and unable to fulfill the required work for their respective grades. * * * Without substantial remedial assistance, these cumulative deficiencies would grow from year to year to cause Apaches to fall farther behind academically and farther away from any hopes of graduation."

Reviewing developments since 1961 to see if the educational milieu had changed for the San Carlos Apache youngsters, Parmee notes some changes, but contends that most of the fundamental problems have not been solved. "Surveys by school officials revealed the majority of Apache students in the intermediate grade levels (5, 6, and 7) to be two to four years below the normal reading levels for their grades.

Special promotions are still prevalent as are drop-outs and transfers. In one school, teachers identified 160 out of approximately 450 enrolled Apaches as exceedingly unresponsive to teachers' efforts in class."

Parmee's study of the San Carlos Apache stands as one intensive study of the education of a reservation school-age group. More likely than not, if the same approach were to be replicated on almost any other Arizona reservation, the conclusions would not be very different.

Still another approach to assessing and understanding achievement was used by the Southwest Cooperative Regional Educational Laboratory. Taking the extensive, rather than the intensive view, laboratory researchers sought to develop a portrait of a "typical" Indian high school graduate from the Southwest, class of 1962. Preliminary data from 200 (out of 700) subjects living in Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico and parts of Oklahoma, Colorado, Utah, show the student who is graduated from high school to probably be a graduate of a public school, a full-blood native-speaking Indian who lives on a reservation, a skilled worker in government employment, and a man who would not change his high school education, didn't experience prejudice in high school and considers himself a success. Of the 200 interviewed, about 70 percent had some post high school education, mostly vocational or technical training; 37 had enrolled in college, but only 6 had graduated. At the time of the interviews, eighteen percent of the 200, even as high school graduates, were unemployed.

4. CULTURAL DISSONANCE AND INDIAN INVOLVEMENT

If Arizona's system, by all available accounts—age-grade lag, poor attendance, dropouts from high schools, dropouts from colleges, inferior achievement, social promotions, unemployed graduates, etc.—cannot be said to serve the Indian child, the explanation of its failure is more complex than its documentation. Two major causal factors would appear to be, first, the cultural dissonance between the Indian student and the white Anglo school, and, second, the almost total failure of either the public or the Bureau authorities to give the Indian people an adequate voice in their children's education or at the very least, an understanding of it. The two are closely related.

The intent of Parmee's study of the San Carlos Apache was, in fact, to demonstrate the effects of the cultural dichotomy. These effects, he argues, go far beyond the school's educational failures.

> It is the intention of the author to show, by means of a small community study within the society of a minority American culture, how education, when used to impose culture change at a rate and of a nature that is defined solely by the convenience and ethnocentric policies of the dominant culture, can create serious social and psychological conflicts within the minority society. These conflicts can actually inhibit the very adjustment or change that the dominant culture is trying to promote. Furthermore they can affect the potential human resources of the minority society in such a deleterious manner that the people are left morally weakened, culturally deprived, and economically dependent.

Waddell, mentioned earlier, also addresses himself to the effect of the meeting of cultures:

> Rather than aiding in the adjustment, such things as partial education, partial assimilation of Anglo values, partial vocational training experience, etc., may only intensify the pattern of ambivalence and status inferiority. Individuals partially but unsuccessfully assimilated into Anglo institutional values seem to be even more aberrant in terms of their occupational patterns. These people, particularly, are apt to fall back to the peer group and share in the corporate retreat from social isolation with the aid of alcohol and companions.

and

> Partial or incomplete assimilation is apparently a worse enemy to Papago occupational stability than is the failure to assimilate certain non-Papago values at all. Once the capacity to assimilate the necessary dominant values has been individually demonstrated, there is no assurance that motivation and ability to implement learned values have necessarily been assimilated. It may only lead to greater dissonance.[20]

Waddell's observations are similar to those of a group of investigators looking at the success and failure of Southwestern Indians in programs of higher education. As reported in opening hearings of the Subcommittee by one of them, Robert Roessel, Indian students coming from homes where *no* English was spoken and those coming from the *least* acculturated homes succeeded best in college. He explains, "Further research clearly suggests that this is because these people have a positive self image and are not lost between two worlds."

Parmee would no doubt agree with this explanation. He, too, attributes the problem of the San Carlos Apache students to the clash of their Anglo-Indian worlds.

> The primary problems of teen-age Apache students, as indicated by the available school and juvenile records, grew out of the many conflicts between the school systems and the various social, cultural, and economic forces existing on the San Carlos Reservation, producing an environment so unstable that it actually inhibited the learning process of the teen-age Apache child as he participated in the formal program of education to which he was committed.

Later, he postulates three causes of the students' dilemmas, including the lack of favorable community influences at home—with the reservation's high unemployment, few models of success, and social pressures from other Apaches against those seeking to acquire non-Indian habits; inadequate support by reservation adults of young Apaches' schooling; and finally, problems at the school itself "including wholly inadequate guideance and counseling." Summarizing his findings, Parmee identifies a very real force between two opposite poles:

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[20] Waddell, *Op. Cit.*

> The orientation of the entire program, in fact, was towards assimilation of Apaches into the Anglo culture, an aim which was diametrically opposed to the desires of most Apaches, while the efforts to bring the goals and operation of the program into more extended agreement with the needs and desires of the Apache people were either weak or non-existent.

If, as in the movies, the Indians were being beaten by the white men, one explanation the author offers is an economic one. The analysis extends beyond the San Carlos Apache reservation.

> On most reservations as in many non-Indian communities, economic power and political power went hand-in-hand. The San Carlos Reservation was no exception. Agencies like the BIA and Public Health Service were permitted no part in tribal politics; but, by the mere fact of their economic potential, they acted as powerful governing forces on the reservation. The Apache Tribal Council, on the other hand, as was pointed out earlier in the discussion of community economic problems, was often frustrated in its efforts to legislate new programs or changes in existing ones because of its own economic impotence and its consequent dependency on alien assistance. To the average Apache reservation inhabitant this gave not only the feeling of being dominated and of being forced into a way of life not of his own choosing, but it also had the demoralizing effect of making him feel helpless and inferior as he watched his elected leaders make often futile demands upon alien people directed by unknown or incomprehensible laws and regulations originated in a place called "Washington."

Still another effect of the white man's neglecting to give Apache parents and tribal leaders an active role in the educational system was noted. The neglect, not surprisingly, gave rise to a "bitter resentment" among much of the adult population which was passed on to the students, and predicably, left them unable to give their children emotional or other kinds of support. White teachers, with little or no first-hand experience of reservation life, were no more able to assist.

The lack of involvement that Parmee found among the San Carlos Apaches is true State-wide. A survey instrument sent to State Departments of Education as part of an effort in national data collection regarding Indian education [21] posed the question, "To what extent and in what ways are Indians involved as lay participants in educational policy making groups in your states?" The reply from Arizona: "Very little participation in policy; Indian school boards 2 schools; 10 scattered in other districts."

Perhaps Indian students might better weather the storm of the cultural confrontation with teachers and administrators and guidance personnel who, by virtue of their own Indian identity, would understand the students and provide models of success and understanding support. Since the State of Arizona guesses (it does not know) that only about 25 of its teachers are Indian, this hypothesis, in the public schools at least, cannot be readily verified.

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[21] Responses to Questionnaire, *Op. Cit.*

A small though telling example of the lack of understanding non-Indian teachers have of their Indian pupils is recounted in an article in the Journal of American Indian Education.[22] A teacher, considered to be one of the finest in the public school system from which she came, narrates her experience with Papago children:

> When I taught school in Phoenix I successfully used gold stars as a way to motivate the students. By that, I mean I would give a gold star for a perfect paper and had a chart on the wall with every child's name. The children all worked very hard to earn one of the gold stars. Now I'm teaching Indian students and I tried my gold stars. At first I couldn't understand why an Indian child never got more than one gold star. It seemed as if they would deliberately miss so as not to receive a gold star. Finally one of the Indian employees told me that these Papago children don't like to be singled out from the rest of the group as being better.

She concluded with the obvious deduction:

> In other words, the teaching techniques that worked for me in Phoenix did not work for me on this Indian reservation.

How many other teachers are using techniques that are wholly inappropriate to the Indian child's value system is a question for speculation. But, since neither the State nor the Bureau requires their teachers to take special courses dealing with Indian culture, the number of inadequately prepared teachers must be almost the same as the number of teachers teaching. As Anne Smith says in her study of New Mexico:

> And what are the Schools of Education in our state universities doing to train teachers qualified to teach children who come from non-English speaking homes and with differing cultural traditions? These children make up between one-fourth and one-third of our total school population. Three state universities *offer* courses in TESL; nowhere in New Mexico is such a course *required*. Among the constantly lengthening lists of courses offered in our Schools of Education there are only two courses in all of New Mexico dealing with the problem of education across cultures, though such courses should be valuable for any teacher of any group of children. It is no wonder that such a large percentage of teachers expressed a desire to teach Anglo-Saxons, rather than Indians (or other minority groups); this is what they have been trained to do. Our Schools of Education go on preparing their students to become middle-class Anglos (if they are not that when they enroll) and to teach only middle-

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[22] Robert A. Roessel, Jr., "Indian Education in Arizona," *Journal of American Indian Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1. (Tempe: Arizona State University College of Education, June 1961).

> class Anglos. That this situation exists and persists shows a blindness on the part of the universities which is shocking.[23]

Although Indian parents are hardly involved in the schools' affairs, Indian teachers are few, and non-Indian teachers are probably not prepared to teach their Indian classes, the disregard of "Indian-ness" is not absolute. The Rough Rock Demonstration School stands in direct contrast with its all-Indian Board of Directors, its largely Indian staff both instructional and non-professional, its heavy community involvement and its role as an adult education center. For its unique place in Indian education, the school has received wide attention. The Rock Point School and the public Tuba City elementary school are also worthy of mention.

Despite scattered examples to the contrary, however, the prevalent situation in Arizona is non-involvement of the Indian people. In testimony before the Subcommittee by the Vice-Chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council, Mr. Logan Koopee, three recommendations out of eight, dealt with the involvement question. In his words:

> —Prompt steps should be taken to establish school boards for all Hopi schools, including provisions for training the Hopi board members to enable them to carry out their responsibilities.
>
> —The hiring and paying of teachers should be done by contract and be based on the academic year and upon professional ability as reflected in their training and experience. As much as is administratively feasible, the local Indians should be involved in the hiring and paying of teachers.
>
> —Administrative responsibility and authority should become more localized into Tribal groups so that the educational programs may be more receptive to the special needs and ability at such local levels. No longer should the BIA administer any program that would tend to stereotype the Indian. No longer should the Indian be forced to tolerate a teacher or administrator who demonstrates unwillingness or inability to function as a professional.

Of his other recommendations, one is that a pre-school program be integrated into the regular school program, one deals with the dual BIA-public school system, one with allowing participation of non-Indians in Hopi schools, and two deal with professional personnel:

> —Teachers in Indian communities should participate in civic activities to the same extent as they would elsewhere. Any policy which puts undue restrictions on the teacher's role in the community should be abolished, so that the Indian will observe him and associate with him in his capacity as a citizen as well as a professional.

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[23] Anne M. Smith. "Indian Education in New Mexico." Institute for Social Research and Development, University of New Mexico, 1968.

> —There should be instituted within the Hopi school system a positive program to constantly improve the efficiency of teachers, administrators and methods * * * Important and necessary is a program to train Hopi people for semi-professional functions in classrooms.

These recommendations, made by a leader of one Indian tribe, are applicable to other tribes as well. Many Indians would concur with their substance.

Underlying the rising call of the Indian community for more participation in educational policies and operation is, the awareness that the children are not being adequately served and the belief that Indian involvement will produce better education. Cultural dissonance between the student and the school has already been cited as one cause of the inadequacy. Teacher preparation, or, to be more precise, lack of teacher preparation has been cited as one cause or contributor to that. Giving further evidence of the personnel problem, Parmee's statements below show that administrative deficiences—such as failure to provide inservice training or assistance to teachers, inadequate record keeping, and few special instructional programs—are another source of the school's generally inept treatment of Indians. About the teachers whom he observed in his study, he says:

> All of the teachers at that time, even the most dedicated ones, lacked special language training to aid their Apache speaking pupils. Even those teachers working with the Beginner's classes (in which nearly every enrolled pupil knew almost no English at the start) admitted that what they themselves lacked in training, they had to make do with ingenuity. Teachers meetings were seldom held and virtually no assistance was given to the teachers during the school year. As the youngest Apache students moved from grade to grade, their difficulties with language compounded as the work became more demanding * * * A public school grammar school official stated that most entering Apache pupils (to the fourth grade) were so poorly prepared in English that it was difficult to teach them anything new.

About their record keeping and evaluation practices:

> Some of the schools, and especially the BIA agency, were not maintaining adequate records for the purpose of periodically evaluating the students' progress and the programs' effectiveness. Although each student had his individual record file at the school he was currently attending, the author knew of no efforts on the part of school administrators to compile such records into periodic summaries for the purposes of trend evaluations.[24-25]

And, about special programs:

> Even by 1960, nearly ten years after the first large group of Apaches had entered the public high schools, little had been achieved in the way of devising special academic pro-

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[24-25] See Navajo Report for additional treatment of the record-keeping problem.

grams for the Indian students beyond the limited acceleration of remedial reading facilities.[26]

5. THE DUAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

Parmee, like most other investigators, faults both the Bureau schools and the public schools for their performances. And, although many individuals wish to hasten the transition of Indian children into public schools, available evidence suggests that *both* Bureau and public schools, are failing their Indian pupils. Robert Roessel, Chancellor of the Rough Rock school, wrote in 1966 that the difference between the two was negligible. "On a reservation where the population is predominantly, if not exclusively, Indian," he said, "the only significant difference between a Bureau school and a public school is that the latter provides for a legal means of local control."[27]

A year later, he commented again in testimony for the Subcommittee about comparisons between the two:

> Every research study ever conducted shows that Indians in public schools do better than Indians in Bureau schools. But it is totally wrong to say that therefore public schools are better than Bureau schools. In the first place, the Indians attending the Bureau schools are usually the full bloods and those who have not had the opportunity of speaking English and becoming acquainted with the ways of the dominant society. The Indian students in public schools are usually the mixed bloods, the ones who may have limited Indian blood quantum but are not Indian in their thinking or in their actions. It may be desirable that we move toward public education for Indians but it should not be on the basis that today public school education produces superior achievement and better results in Indian students.

From the point of view of some Indians, the distinction between public and Bureau schools is even more meaningless. The story below speaks for itself.

> On the Papago Reservation during the storm in the spring of 1968 some of the people had to be evacuated and were temporarily housed in a public school building operated by a local school district. When they were told it was a public school they thought the "public" was the name of the school. They had no notion of the distinction between a school operated by a local district and one operated by the BIA.
>
> On the same reservation, a BIA school was under construction. When one of our staff members asked the Papago Education Committee if the school was a grade school or a junior high, they didn't know. The BIA had not told them and they had not asked.[28]

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[26] Parmee, *Op. Cit.*

[27] Robert Roessel, Jr. "Observations on Indian Education Within the Bureau of Indian Affairs," report written for the Secretary of the Interior. February 9, 1966.

[28] Glen Nimnicht and Francis McKinley, "Recommendations to a Senate Committee Investigating Indian Education," Mimeographed.

Yet the fact remains that a dual school system does exist, that the Bureau has made known a policy of transferring its educational responsibilities over time to the public schools, and that the existence of the dual system, in the opinion of many, proves a disservice to the Indian youngster. Mr. Koopee, the Hopi leader quoted earlier, presented his views to the Subcommittee in these words: "The administrative problems and the consequent disharmony created by the split of authority resulting from the amalgamation of the BIA and Public School at the Hopi Agency demonstrate a need for a program under one general administration." Materials presented to the Subcommittee by officials of the public schools, discussing problems which are hampering the efforts of the public schools, include the following statement:

> The jurisdictional problems concern the right to educate the Indian child.
>
> The BIA schools and the public schools are beginning to compete for the Indian child. Public school bus routes pass BIA schools and large BIA schools are now being built close to large population centers within our districts. These large BIA schools—such as Toyei, Ft. Wingate, and Chuskai—are slow in reaching enrollment capacity while the public schools are struggling along using portable classrooms because of time lags deriving from the inadequate provisions of P.L. 815.

and,

> At present, almost all influences lies with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Even the administration of the one specific Indian law to public schools, Johnson-O'Malley, is directed through them. The Indian Education Divisions of the Education Department of Arizona and New Mexico are salaried by the BIA and subject to their approval.[29]

Interviews by subcommittee staff with public school officials in New Mexico provided examples of the competition between the two authorities there. And Philleo Nash, former Commissioner of the BIA speaks, in a 1967 speech, of "those who seek to expand public school districts or obtain funds on the basis of Indian enrollment, sometimes at the educational expenses of the Indian children." [30] Referring to a comparative study of achievement of high school students in public and Bureau schools on and off the Navajo reservation, he says:

> The significant outcome of the study, that all forms of high school education currently available to high school students are failing to meet their needs, has been obscured by the unfortunate battle between public and federal schools over who is to perform this monumental task.[31]

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[29] "Indian Education in the Public Schools of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico," prepared for Subcommittee as backup matterials to testimony offered at Flagstaff Hearings, March 30, 1968.

[30] Herbert Aurbach, ed. "Proceedings of the National Research Conference on American Indian Education," (State College: Pennsylvania State University): Philleo Nash, "A Selective Review and Critique—Evaluation of Earlier Research Efforts on American Indian Education."

[31] The finding to which Mr. Nash's comment applies may be found in the Navajo Report.

If the public school authorities are competitive because they seek additional revenues, and the Bureau authorities because they do not wish to surrender a position of pre-eminence, the motivations are of less import than the fact that the child's education is suffering while the educators' dispute his guardianship.

6. FINANCING OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The issue of financing public school education of Indian children in the State of Arizona is currently a salient one, and it will become more important as more Indian youngsters enter the public schools. At the present time, federal financing of public Indian education is authorized under three pieces of legislation: the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 (48 Stat. 596, amended June 4, 1936 49 Stat. 1458); and Public Laws 874 and 815. Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) is administered through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 874 and 815 through DHEW's Office of Education. Personnel responsible for pubic Indian education at the State level are: a director of Indian Education, as assistant director for fiscal matters, an Indian education consultant (curriculum), a Fiscal Officer who also serves as an administrative secretary, and two secretaries.

Johnson-O'Malley, as the examination of its legislative history (page 5 of volume I) reveals, was enacted for two purposes: first, to assist the public schools whose influx of Indian pupils was not accompanied by an increase of tax dollars for educational support: and, second, to insure that necessary special services and programs would be provided to the Indian students. The Act does not define what these special services shall be, but uses language that is sufficiently broad to cover almost any program which imagination might devise. It authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to:

> * * * enter into a contract or contracts with any State or Territory, or political subdivision thereof, or with any State university, college, or school, or with any appropriate State or private corporation, agency, or institution, for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance and social welfare, including relief of distress, of Indians * * * and to expend under such contract or contracts, monies appropriated by Congress for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance and social welfare, including relief of distress, of Indians in such State or Territory.

Public Law 874, amended in 1958 to include Indians, was designed to provide compensation to school districts which were experiencing financial burdens as a result of Federal activities or as a result of Federal land ownership which deprived the State or district of tax revenues. Commonly referred to as Federal aid for impacted areas, it meets the same financial deficiency that the enactment of JOM also recognized. P.L. 815, similar in intent to 874, provides funds for school construction rather than a contribution to operating costs.

The effect of these acts on school financing in Arizona is summarized by officials as follows:

> In 1954, the Bureau of Indian Affairs proposed to Arizona an agreement for distribution of Johnson-O'Malley funds. Significant items of this proposal included federal payment of the per capita cost of education of Indian children residing on tax-exempt Indian lands which would ordinarily be paid to the school district by local and county taxes, and federal payment for special services provided for Indian children. This step provided for Indian and non-Indian children to attend a school operated by a local school district and largely financed by contract between the Arizona Department of Public Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Since 1958, Public Law 874 funds, administered by the U.S. Office of Education, for the purpose of relief to "federally impacted areas" were made applicable to Indian children attending public schools.[32]

The effect of the availability of 874 funds on the way in which JOM funds were used is also described:

> The Johnson-O'Malley program thereafter became even more supplemental, paying the difference between what it costs to educate an Indian child and the amount provided by Public Law 874. Because of the amended Public Law 874, a new Johnson-O'Malley contract was entered into between the state of Arizona and the federal government in 1962.

Operating under this new plan, JOM funds were distributed on an entitlement basis and "the per capita cost figure used in determining Johnson-O'Malley entitlement was limited to the State average per capita cost plus 50%." A new plan approved for the 1966–67 school year changed the basis for computing the entitlement.

In June, 1967, the Commissioner of the BIA wrote to his Area Director suggesting that a study be made and a revised plan be submitted to become effective July 1, 1968. State officials objected to several of the changes the Commissioner proposed be incorporated into a new plan on the grounds that "Present proposals made by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Arizona Department of Public Education would further erode federal responsibility and impose drastic and unreasonable burdens upon local taxpayers." The plan that was finally adopted, beginning in effect July, 1968, however, represented a compromise between the State and Washington. The plan distinguished between Major Impact Districts and Minor Impact Districts, a major impact district being one "located on or principally on an Indian Reservation" and having "60% or more of its enrollment composed of Reservation Indian children;" all other eligible districts are designated "minor impact" districts. In major impact districts, the Federal government agreed to grant JOM funds in an amount equal to the difference between the district's income from all other sources and its general operating budget. In the language of the plan:

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[32] Memo on Financing Public Education for Indians in Arizona, Compiled by Gus Harrell, with a Committee appointed by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives; undated, mimeographed, received February 21, 1968.

> Funds will be provided on the basis of the total deficit need after receipts from *all* other sources of revenue to which the district is entitled * * *

In minor impact districts, on the other hand, JOM funds are not granted according to the deficit; instead, "funds will be provided on the basis of the cost to the district for the education of eligible Indian children * * *"

In the fiscal year 1967, Arizona received $3,004,000 in JOM funds. The number of districts and pupils participating, the amount available to the State, and two uses of the funds, as compiled from annual JOM State reports,[33] are presented in the Tables following:

ARIZONA JOHNSON-O'MALLEY PARTICIPATION

	1967-68	1966-67	1965-66	1964-65	1963-64
Number of districts participating	63	65	60	(1)	(1)
Number of pupils eligible under Arizona Johnson-O'Malley	12,716	11,986	11,457	10,744	9,593
Increase over last year:					
Number	748	511	713	1,151	210
Percent	6.2	4.4	6.6	12	....
Number of 8th grade graduates	960	831	781	767	719
Increase over last year:					
Number	129	50	14	48	89
Percent	....	6.4	1.8	6.68	14
Number of 12th grade graduates	445	375	333	273	225
Increase over last year:					
Number	70	42	60	48	....
Percent	18.6	12.6	21.98	21.3	....

[1] Not reported.

ARIZONA JOM FUND AVAILABILITY AND EXPENDITURES FOR SPECIAL SERVICES AND SCHOOL LUNCHES

	1967-68	1966-67	1965-66	1964-65	1963-64
JOM receipts	$3,838,656	3,563,535	$3,611,149	$3,199,957	$2,958,027
Plus balance forward	141,991	373,095	342,347	139,267	264,338
Peripheral contract funds	730,458	757,285	711,149	663,957	607,347
Total available	3,980,468	3,936,630	3,953,496	3,339,223	3,222,365
Amount for special services for Indian children	51,465	92,286	106,737	45,053	54,554
Amount spent on lunches	307,608	278,600	236,861	228,183	196,931

Note: Examination of the figures reveals that, for the last school year for which data are available, approximately 1.3 percent of the JOM receipts, were applied to special services for Indian children ($51,465/$3,838,656). Approximately 6 times that amount was applied to school lunches. More than 90 percent of the almost $3,900,000, then, must have been used for general operating costs

The new JOM plan mentions the provision of Special Services for Indian children as follows:

> The Bureau will provide funds in the budget for special services on a need basis for Indian pupils and for extraordinary needs related to the education of eligible Indian children as are mutually determined by the State and Bureau personnel.
>
> 1. When special services are provided in Minor Impact Districts, per capita costs on which Johnson-O'Malley payments are made will exclude these special service costs.

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[33] State of Arizona Department of Public Instruction, *Indian Education in Arizona, Annual Reports 1967–68; 1966–67; 1965–66; 1964–45; 1963–46.*

It then defines special services:

> 2. For this purpose, special services will mean generally the cost of school lunches when neither the family nor the school district can meet or absorb the cost. It is recognized that the cost of providing special teachers, unusual transportation or other school employees may be paid from this fund.
>
> 3. Additional educational programs that will upgrade the quality of education.

School lunches, some special teachers, and "additional (undefined) educational programs" hardly seem to exploit the possibilities, considering the flexibility of the JOM language.

The relation of JOM receipts to other sources of income for Arizona's Indian educational program can be seen by examination of the next table, prepared by public officials. Even the most cursory examination reveals those districts' heavy dependence on Federal assistance.

INCOME AND EXPENSE DATA FOR LARGE RESERVATION-BASED DISTRICTS IN NORTHERN ARIZONA, 1966–67

	Chinle	Ganado	Window Rock	Tuba City Elementary	Tuba City High School	Kayenta Elementary	Monument Valley High School
Total enrollment (1966–67 average daily attendance)	1,545.626	1,034.433	1,710.500	1,029.601	301.677	569.196	164.966
Number of Indians enrolled	1,369.000	916.000	1,498.000	893.000	245.000	465.000	123.000
Total expenditures	$1,488,321	$997,729	$1,728,506	$719,570	$327,506	$468,522	$203,490
(Public Law 89–10)	(233,815)	(146,737)	(389,163)	(111,503)	(41,158)	(62,979)	(19,509)
Total receipts	1,389,812	952,811	1,742,472	749,716	316,898	467,257	212,288
Public Law 874	358,829	229,079	381,368	175,140	91,115	124,215	54,873
Johnson-O'Malley	382,496	239,641	442,591	165,243	111,281	114,762	41,910
Public Law 89–10	214,570	152,649	382,059	133,572	43,669	62,265	18,186
District taxes	24,146	41,587	146,584	19,717	17,126	29,859	35,718
State and county aid and miscellaneous receipts (mainly tuition)	410,071	289,854	389,871	255,774	53,707	136,156	51,601

Source: Arizona State Department of Public Instruction Annual Report, 1966–67.

Public school officials have gone on record that their financial situation is critical. They feel that "the public schools have not received adequate financial assistance in educating the Indian child," and that the "advent of other federal aid programs, which are largely categorical in nature . . . are beginning to endanger the general federal aid laws so vital to the basic education of the Indian child."[34] Furthermore, "Also detrimental to us have been the large special appropriations which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has had to construct and operate these large facilities."

School officials are also in conflict with the State government for funds. An Arizona law passed in 1968 specifies that a district's amount of State equalization aid, i.e., that amount of money which the State gives to local districts to make up the difference between the district's per pupil expenditures and the sum of its income from the State's basic entitlement and 874, will be limited by excluding from the average daily attendance figure "pupils receiving aid for education from the Federal Government which is specified for Indian education aid." In other words, children who are eligible for JOM funds are *not* eligible for State equalization aid. (This enactment is not only discriminatory towards Indians but reveals again the view that JOM is a source of funds for a district's operating budget, to the exclusion of the view that JOM may and indeed should be used as a source of supplemental funds for specifically designed programs for Indian educational needs.) It is expected that the law will be reviewed by the current session of the State legislature.

With reductions of 874 appropriations and a freezing of 815 funds having occurred at the time of the Subcommittee's Arizona hearings, it is no wonder that the public schools announced their need for "immediate relief from these dangers." Details of the consequences of inadequate financing in one school district were presented to the Subcommittee in a letter dated February 21, 1968 from the Superintendent of the Window Rock School District No. 8, Fort Defiance, Arizona. Portions of the letter follow:

> This school is a public school of the State of Arizona, operating on the Navajo Indian Reservation. Our school district is a high cost school compared to Arizona State averages, spending approximately $785.00 per student per year.

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[34] "Indian Education in the Public Schools of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico," undated pamphlet presented at Hearings, March 30, 1968.

> We get about 70% of our funds through P.L. 73–167 (Johnson-O'Malley) and P.L. 874. The balance comes from state and county aid, and local property taxes. Our school enrollment is approximately 85% Navajo Indian, and 15% non-Indian. * * * Due to late funding of the programs by Congress, inadequate funding, and changes in the programs, Window Rock School District 8 will receive only about 50% of the estimated funds from P.L. 874 during this fiscal year, and about 75% of the Johnson-O'Malley funds. The total deficit will approach $275,000 out of a total budget of $1,417,809.
>
> It would appear that this district has about three choices:
>
> A. Operate until funds are exhausted, and then close school. That is obviously bad for several reasons.
>
> B. Operate on registered warrants and finish the year in the red. If this is done, the local tax-payers will have to add this to their tax burden for the following year. Our few taxpayers are already paying higher than the average states taxes, and the added burden would more than double their rates.
>
> C. Appeal to Congress for supplemental appropriations so that anticipated revenue can be received from P.L. 874, and Johnson-O'Malley.

Testimony before the Subcommittee by the principal of another public elementary school in Arizona dealt with similar problems. Hadley Thomas, Tuba City elementary school, reported that:

> We are very definitely feeling the cut back in 874 funds. As a practical matter, it has meant 20 percent off the top of our budget.

The problems of delays and cutbacks in Federal fundings for education of Indians in Arizona are, in reality, no different from funding problems experienced by all schools receiving any form of Federal assistance. The schools' very real dependence on the Federal dollar, however, makes the problems more acute, and the consequences, as suggested by the Window Rock Superintendent, more severe. Since it is probably unreasonable to expect that delays, freezing of funds, and cutbacks in appropriations will cease to be facts of life of the Federal budgetary decision-making process, it would seem that public school officials might initiate efforts to lessen their dependency on Washington, while, at the same time, joining with other public school personnel in calling for changes in the timing and procedures of Federal support.

G. Field Report—New York

1. BACKGROUND

The Indian population in New York State numbers about 15,000, of whom about 10,000 live on 80,000 acres of reservation land. New York Indians differ from other states' Indian groups in their relationship to the Federal government. The State existed before the Federal government, did not cede any of its territory to the Federal government (as did some of the other states), and thus its Indian lands were at no time Federal property. Partly as a result of this history and partly in consequence of the State's pattern of direct dealings with the Indian residents, Federal authority through the Bureau of Indian Affairs has rarely been exercised. In New York State today, the state provides virtually all welfare services, has jurisdiction over all criminal offenses and civil disputes arising on Indian reservations, and takes full responsibility for the education of Indian children as well. The sole recent interaction between a New York Indian tribe and the Federal government was initiated in 1964 when the sum of $12,000,000 was paid to the Seneca Indians in compensation for the flooding of their lands occasioned by the building of the Kinzua dam; a BIA representative was assigned, and an office set up at Salamanca, to help administer the rehabilitation program.

Indian reservations in New York State, their tribe and membership, are shown in the table below;[1] the map following shows their locations.

TABLE 1

Reservation	Acres	Tribe	Enrolled membership
St. Regis	[1] 38,390 [2] 14,640	Mohawk	2,222
Onondaga	7,300	Onondaga	1,132 [3] 469
Cattaraugus	21,680	Cayuga	303
Allegheny	22,000	Seneca	4,373
Oil Spring	640	Not inhabited, belongs to Seneca	
Tonawanda	7,549	Tonawanda band of Seneca	824
Tuscarora	5,700	Tuscarora	650
Shinnecock [4]	400		300
Poosepatuck [4]	60		75

[1] Total.

[2] New York.

[3] Oneida and Mohawk.

[4] The Shinnecock and Poosepatuck Tribes, presumably of Algonquin Indian origin live on lands granted to them by the Colonial Government. New York State recognizes these as reservations although the Bureau of Indian Affairs does not.

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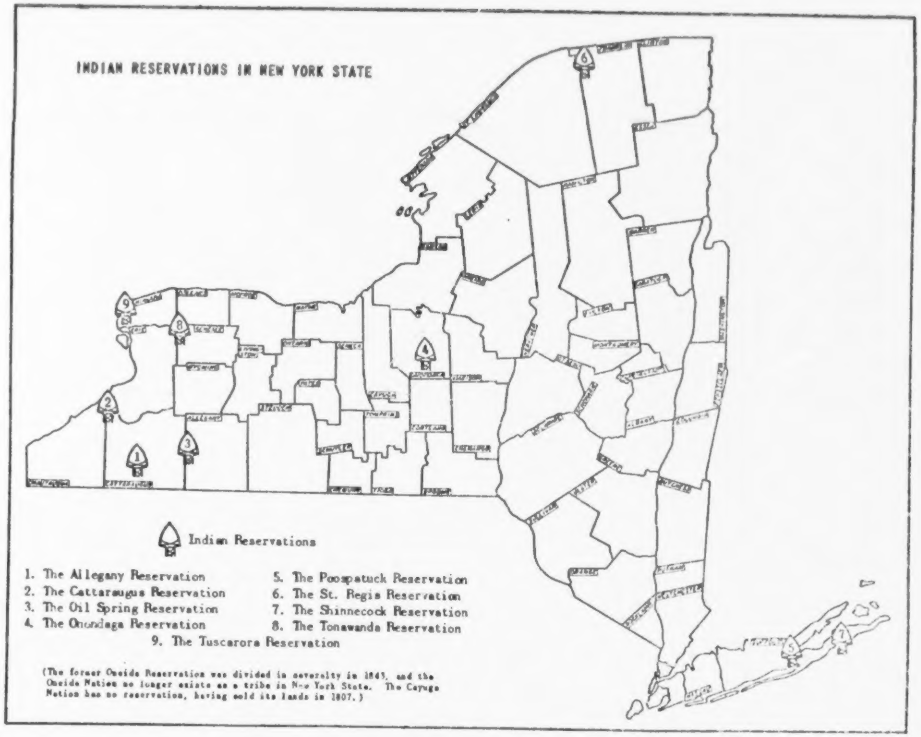
[1] New York State Department of Social Welfare, *The Indian Today in New York State*, prepared by John Hathorn (Albany, 1967).



INDIAN RESERVATIONS IN NEW YORK STATE

Indian Reservations

1. The Allegany Reservation
2. The Cattaraugus Reservation
3. The Oil Spring Reservation
4. The Onondaga Reservation
5. The Poospatuck Reservation
6. The St. Regis Reservation
7. The Shinnecock Reservation
8. The Tonawanda Reservation
9. The Tuscarora Reservation

(The former Oneida Reservation was divided in severalty in 1843, and the Oneida Nation no longer exists as a tribe in New York State. The Cayuga Nation has no reservation, having sold its lands in 1807.)

SOURCE: New York State Department of Social Welfare, *The Indian Today in New York State.*

The great majority of New York's reservation Indian students attend public schools in one of the ten local school districts that contracts with the State Department of Education to provide for their education. Three all-Indian State-owned elementary schools remain on reservations, also operated under contract with public school districts. Under these contracts, the Department pays all charges including transportation, tuition, and the cost of operating and repairing the three reservation schools.[2]

With a total enrollment, kindergarten through grade twelve, in the 1966–67 school year of 2,543 students, enrollment of New York Indians has steadily increased; it continues to increase by about 50 each year. Enrollment statistics are presented in tables 2 to 4 below.

TABLE 2.—GROWTH OF INDIAN EDUCATION[1]

Reservation schools	1906-7	1967-68	1968-69
Alleghany	145		
Cattaraugus	191		
Onondaga	133	173	228
Poospatuck	33		
Shinnecock			
St. Regis	173	400	387
Tonawanda	104		
Tuscarora	58	136	205
Total	837	709	820
Public school districts	**1959-60**	**1967-68**	**1968-69**
Akron	130	136	133
Center Moriches	26	35	36
Gowanda	401	487	493
Lafayette	148	143	175
Niagara-Wheatfield	263	201	175
Salamanca	212	257	244
Salmon River	545	283	316
Silver Creek	130	135	135
Southampton	57	91	98
Total	1,912	1,768	1,730

[1] New York State Education Department, "Indian Education in New York State 1846–1968" (October 1968).

TABLE 3[1]

	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
Those attending at buildings on reservation	809	803	821	749	723	709	820
Those enrolled in public schools under contract	1,427	1,490	1,510	1,605	1,723	1,768	1,730
Those receiving post-high school student aid	31	28	35	57	85	81	122
Other							86
Total	2,267	2,321	2,366	2,411	2,531	2,558	2,758

[1] Annual reports of the Interdepartmental Committee on Indian Affairs, 1964–65; 1967–68, 1968–69.

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[2] The Department also makes available up to $1,000 each year for a maximum of four years for post high school training for each qualified reservation student. For the second time, in the 1967–68 school year, all New York reservations sent students into post-secondary institutions. Graduates who attend out of state schools, however, are not eligible for assistance.

TABLE 4.[1]—INDIAN CHILDREN HOUSED IN SCHOOLS LOCATED ON THE RESERVATIONS

	1965–66	1966–77	1967–68	1968–69
Onondaga	180	178	173	228
St. Regis	415	401	400	387
Tuscarora	154	144	136	205
Total	749	723	709	820

INDIAN CHILDREN HOUSED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS ADJACENT TO THE RESERVATIONS

All K–12	1965–66	1966–67	1967–68	1968–69
Akron	135	147	136	133
Center Moriches	29	29	35	36
Gowanda	443	473	487	493
LaFayette	146	147	143	175
Niagara-Wheatfield	171	188	201	134
Salamanca	226	246	257	244
Salmon River	240	267	283	316
Silver Creek	124	136	135	135
Southampton	91	90	91	98
Total	1,605	1,723	1,768	1,730

[1] Annual Reports on the Interdepartmental Committee on Indian Affairs, 1964–65; 1967–68, 1968–69.

See the following recapitulation:

In reservation schools	820
In other K–12 schools or special classes	66
Total	2,616
Postsecondary	122
Total	2,738

The cost to the State for the education of its Indian young people is shown in Table 5, below.

TABLE 5.—STATE EXPENDITURES

	1965–66 actual	1966–67 actual	1967–68 actual
Repairs	$32,099.27	$27,900.00	$27,990.00
Tuition-transportation	873,717.24	1,182,624.46	1,273,169.00
Postsecondary	48,709.45	76,750.00	100,019.00
Total	954,525.96	1,287,274.46	1,401,178.00

COST OF OPERATING RESERVATION SCHOOLS

St. Regis		$328,688.71	$372,947.00
Onondaga		187,542.68	215,631.00
Tuscarora		118,982.68	133,898.00
Total		635,214.07	722,476.00
Total State contribution		1,922,488.53	2,123,654.00

Since the total cost of all State services rendered to the Reservations during the 1967–68 year amounted to approximately $2,900,000, education consumed a major portion of the State's total Indian budget, and, one assumes, must be regarded with some importance.

Data regarding the Indian's performance is not readily available since the Indian student population is, by and large, integrated into public school systems. According to Harold Segerstrom, a member of the State Education Department and Chairman of the Committee on Student Aid to Indians, "The drop-out rate among Indian students is significantly higher than among their non-Indian counterparts in each of the contracting school districts," and "Eighteen percent of the Indian reservation pupils, grades 1–12, in addition to those attending ESEA Title I summer programs, need remedial and summer make-up study to maintain achievement at grade levels." [3] Mr. Donald Benedict, Director of the Division of School Supervision, says, "We should very much like to provide social workers for assignment in our schools to work with Indian youth and parents. We feel significant improvement can be made if this were done." Other goals which Mr. Benedict cites for Indian education in New York State are quoted below: [4]

> (a) Pre-kindergarten programs should become a part of every reservation Indian child's education. This will require working with school administrators, boards of education, and, particularly, Indian parents.
>
> (b) In-depth studies are needed to assess the effectiveness of present elementary school programs as related to Indian pupils in each of the contracting school districts. Supervisory assistance and more adequate financing may well be needed to strengthen recommended programs.
>
> (c) Greater leadership on the part of the Department is needed to encourage high school drop-outs between the ages of 18–25 years to enroll in vocational programs and/or high school equivalency programs. This effort will require a closer liaison with the contracting school districts and the student drop-outs.
>
> (d) Curriculum materials relating to New York State Indian culture should be prepared at the State level. Such materials, over and above those available through the regular State curriculum, are being requested by contracting school districts, parents, tribal groups, and the young people.
>
> (e) Close supervision of post-secondary students is vitally needed. At one time, such supervision was found to be highly effective. The only reason supervision of these students is not carried out now is lack of staff. With the current group of 110 postsecondary students, at least a third should be visited this school year.
>
> (f) The Department needs to give more attention to the adult population on all eight reservations. This will require more staff than is now available to work closely with the contracting school districts and reservation adults. Of current concern on all reservations are adult education for Indians and their participation in school and community affairs affecting the education of Indian children.

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[3] Harold Segerstrom, "A Proposal to Create a Bureau of Indian Education" (January 3, 1969) Memo to Donald O. Benedict.

[4] Donald O. Benedict, Director of Division of School Supervision, the University of the State of New York, to Adrian Parmeter (September 24, 1968).

The 1967–68 Annual Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Indian Affairs provides another source of information regarding the State's goals for and concerns about its Indian education program. The publication notes that the number of high school graduates who are enrolled in post-secondary programs is approximately three times the number of four years ago. The continuing problems it identifies include further reducing the drop-out rate (estimated in 1961 to have been about 40%, estimated currently at somewhere around 20%, encouraging vocational training and enrollment in post-secondary degree programs, and expanding pre-kindergarten classes beyond the two reservations on which they are scheduled to begin in September, 1969, to all reservations within two or three years. Other goals which have been enumerated by State department personnel are: development and supervision of summer schools for remedial work; the ultimate abandonment of the three remaining reservation schools; the formation of a State Advisory Committee to include each chief school officer and at least one Indian leader for each of the ten school districts and the eight reservations; the provision of summer teacher education programs concerned with the special problems of Indian children, and increasing the participation of parents in school affairs.[5]

The goal of increased parental involvement received special attention in New York in December, 1967, when a list of complaints and a petition related to the St. Regis Elementary and the Salmon River District Schools was drawn up by the St. Regis Mohawks. Despite conferences over a period of months with State Education Department and local officials, a threatened boycott of the school was not averted. One of the issues was the concern of the Mohawks that they were not eligible to vote in school elections or to serve on school boards, because of a ruling by the State Department's counsel that reservations were not a part of the school district and that Indians, therefore, could not vote. By 1969, the Legislature passed, and the Governor signed, the Pisari Bill giving Indians residing on reservations the right to vote and hold office on the boards of education.

As a result of the Salmon River boycott, supervisory visits by State Education Department personnel were made to the Salmon River Junior-Senior High School and to the elementary schools to evaluate the educational program. In the words of the Junior-Senior High School report, "This school was visited to review the organization and administration of the school, to study the program of instruction, and to observe the physical plant and facilities, especially as they relate to the education of Indian children. Some of the findings of the study, presented below, are of particular interest.[6]

—Many Indian fathers work on construction projects and are home only on weekends. One-fourth to one-third of the Indian mothers work, primarily in the slipper factory in Bombay. There is little reading material in most homes; however, a daily paper is often available. Since the language spoken in the home is often Indian, some pupils do not hear English spoken at home.

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[5] Harold Segerstrom, *op. cit.*

[6] New York State Education Department, Division of School Supervision, "Report of Supervisory Visits to Salmon River Junior-Senior High School," undated, mimeographed.

- —Parents, both Indian and white, have often been apathetic about education in the schools.
- —There is no parent teacher association, no parent advisory committee and no Indian representative on the Board of Education.
- —There appears to be a lack of communication between Indian parents and the school.
- —Fifty percent of the absentees are Indian children, yet they account for only one-third of the enrollment.
- —Although no official policy exists, many teachers do not allow pupils to talk Indian in the high school.
- —Despite an avowed effort to provide equal education for all, the teachers of the Salmon River High School appear not to have given adequate attention to the contributions Indian children could make to the learning situation.
- —Indian children are reticent to express themselves in class.
- —Many Indian children seem to have a poor image of their academic potential.
- —Post high school acceptance to date is low for both Indian and white pupils. Placement reported for this year's 113 graduates was:

  4 year college—2 Indian, 12 White.
  3 year school of nursing—1 Indian, 0 White.
  2 year college—11 Indian, 19 White.
  1 year Business Education—2 Indian, 7 White.

- —A study of student drop-outs shows that of the 296 Indian students who entered grade 9 since 1957, only 165 have graduated. This would indicate a holding power rate of less than 60%. Among the graduates of the last three years, 82 Indian pupils graduated from the 129 Indian students who entered ninth grade, for a holding power of 63.6%. The largest number of dropouts occurred during the summer months. This year 79.5% of the Indian pupils who entered in the ninth grade four years ago remained to graduate. While the school is to be commended for improving its holding power, greater improvement is necessary to fully implement the stated philosophy of the school.
- —During the school year 1966–67 no Indian pupils in grades nine or eleven earned a place on any honor roll. Although an average of 85 is the only requirement for the honor roll a very small number of Indian pupils were reported to have achieved at this level.

The study concludes with several recommendations. Two of them are:

> 1. Every effort should be made to improve the Indian pupil's image of himself as a worthwhile individual, one who can not only learn from classroom experiences but can also make contributions to the class.

> 2. Efforts should be made to improve communication between Indian parents and the school. Home visitations, a parent-teacher organization, Indian representation on the Board of Education, use of parents as resource people or chaperones, and distribution of more publications which include writing by Indian children should be considered.

The findings of the Salmon River study reveal problems not dissimilar from those of Indian education elsewhere. The State's having made such a study and its willingness to share the findings are hopeful signs that Indian education in New York is being critically self-evaluated. Innovations initiated at the State level, listed below, give further evidence of the State's concern:

1. New York State Indian history is being taught in all New York schools as part of the sixth or seventh grade social studies program; pamphlets covering Indian history have been prepared for teachers who develop their own lesson plans from the materials provided. All students in the State, not only Indians, study Indian history.
2. Extending the State's ongoing program of released time one afternoon a week for religious instruction, a program has been initiated at the St. Regis reservation in which children are released to study the Mohawk language, tribal customs and dances, and religious aspects of Indian life. Some 320 Mohawks are participating in the 1968–69 school year.
3. Personnel within the State Education Department hope to create a Bureau of Indian Education within the next fiscal year to bring together within one administrative unit all functions connected with Indian education, which are currently distributed among five sections of the State Education Department. The Bureau, according to the proposal for its establishment, "would be responsible for the coordination of administration within the Department and for providing urgently needed leadership and supervisory assistance to the contracting school districts for the development and implementation of needed programs."

Such actions, along with the goals which have been set for Indian education by responsible personnel, promise continuing progress. Unlike some of the other States, New York long ago acknowledged its educational responsibilities and can, without the distraction of administration split or conflict between itself and Federal government, pursue single-mindedly the goal of increasing the effectiveness of the Indian child's experience with the white man's institutions of learning.

H. Field Report—Maine

1. BACKGROUND

In July of 1968, professional staff members of the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education conducted 3 days of interviews and field work in the State of Maine. Meetings were held in the State Capitol with the following people: Mr. Edward Hinckley, Commissioner, Department of Indian Affairs of the State of Maine; Mr. William T. Logan, Jr., Commissioner, Maine State Department of Education; Mr. Louis L. Doyle, Coordinator of the Division of Indian Services of the Catholic Diocese of Portland; Mr. Robert A. Jones, coordinator of the Title III project to upgrade schools in the "Unorganized Territories" and on two of the three state Indian reservations. A formal meeting was also held with Kenneth M. Curtis, Governor of the State of Maine, which was attended by all those mentioned above.

A number of basic documents were collected and a considerable amount of informed opinion was expressed about the problems of Maine's two Passamaquoddy reservations. The Subcommittee staff also visited both Passamaquoddy reservations, and held discussions with John W. Stevens, the Passamaquoddy governor of the Indian Township Reservation; Mr. Archie LaCoote, director of the Community Action Program which serves both reservations; several Catholic sisters who were teachers in the Indian Township Reservation's elementary school; and the priest who serves that reservation. A visit was also made to the Pleasant Point Reservation and attempts were made to get in touch with Governor Joseph Mitchell, the Passamaquoddy Governor of that reservation who was not available at the time of the trip. Discussions were, however, held with members of the Pleasant Point community including Mr. George Francis, the official Passamaquoddy delegate for the two reservations serving as a non-voting representative at the State Legislature.

A thorough inspection of the schools serving the Indian children on the two reservations was conducted by the Subcommittee staff. Questions were raised about teacher training, curriculum, textbooks, adequacy of facilities, relevancy of school programs to the background of the Indian children, special programs for dealing with the children's language background, and general problems connected with the educational programs at both schools. Inquiry was also conducted into the adequacy and effectiveness of educational programs offered by public schools in Princeton and Eastport, Maine which the Indian children attend when they graduate from the State schools on the two reservations. On the basis of the information gathered by mail prior to the visit, interviews conducted in Augusta and on the two state reservations, and supplementary documents, the following field report summarizes and makes recommendations about the educational problems and performance of Indian children on the Passamaquoddy reservations.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Prior to the Revolutionary War, the Passamaquoddy Indians were hunters and fishermen in what could be termed a river civilization clustering along the St. Croix river and extending from the mouth of the river near Eastport, Maine to its source in the lakes of Aroostook county. The Passamaquoddys taught many early white settlers hunting and stocking techniques for game, procedures for cultivating squash, beans and corn, and procedures for preparing maple syrup. Their existence was relatively undisturbed until the encroachments by both loyalists and revolutionaries threatened their hunting grounds. Agents of George Washington reached the Indians and promised that the ancient tribal haunts would remain theirs and inviolate if the Passamaquoddys would join forces with the Revolutionary Army. Accepting this offer, the Passamaquoddy Tribe proved to be one of the few tribes in New England to fight with the revolutionary forces. According to a number of historical accounts, under the direction of Col. Allan they were primarily responsible for the success of the campaign of the revolutionary army in the State of Maine. The tribe received many commendations from Col. Allan and a letter of appreciation from George Washington himself. In 1794 Col. Allan and other officials of the commonwealth of Massachusetts signed a treaty with the tribal leaders granting the Indians some 23,000 acres of land in perpetuity. Compared to the vast hunting grounds that had been controlled by the Passamaquoddy tribe, this amount of land was small indeed. Maine agreed to renegotiate the treaty obligations between Massachusetts and the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Tribes as a condition of becoming a state. Although such renegotiation was carried out in 1821 with the Penobscot Tribe, no similar transaction took place with the Passamaquoddy Tribe. The status of the treaty relationship between the Tribe, Massachusetts, and Maine, is the subject of litigation currently before the Massachusetts courts.

In addition to not renegotiating the Passamaquoddy-Massachusetts treaty, Maine, becoming a state in 1820, shortly passed a Resolve authorizing itself to lease or sell any of the Passamaquoddys' treaty lands. This policy of selling or leasing Indian land continued from 1836 to 1951, when the Resolve was repealed. The results of this policy were the alienation to private owners of some 8,000 acres of this original 23,000 acre grant and considerable confusion on the part of Maine as to the title status of the remaining 15,000 acres. The Passamaquoddys today live on two Reservations in easternmost Maine in the most economically depressed county in New England. Some 350 tribal members live on the Pleasant Point Reservation (100 acres) near Eastport, and some 250 reside on the Indian Township Reservation (15,000 acres) near Princeton, in two communities. (Approximately 600 members live off the reservations).

When Maine became a state, carved out of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, she promised both Congress and Massachusetts that she would honor the Passamaquoddy treaty. Nevertheless, twenty years later, the State passed the Resolve of 1836 empowering the State to lease or sell any of the treaty lands. This policy of selling or leasing Indian land continued until 1951 when the Resolve of 1836 was repealed. During those 115 years, 15,000 of the original 23,000 acres of treaty land had passed outright into non-Indian hands, and 14,800 acres had been leased, leaving the Passamaquoddys with approximately 200 acres to live on.

In addition to the grant of 23,000 acres of land to the Passamaquoddys, Massachusetts formally agreed to provide for the Indians annual support in compensation for having expropriated most of the hunting grounds of the tribe. For 26 years the promise was faithfully kept. When Maine assumed that obligation in 1820 it accepted 395,000 acres of additional timberland earmarked for support of the Indians. But, instead of holding the title perpetually in trust for the Indians, as provided by the deed from Massachusetts, Maine sold this land to private interests. The Indians never received any income from that trust property, and in a sense, their fate as publicly supported wards was sealed.

3. Current Conditions

Today, money for health and welfare services on the reservations comes from general fund appropriations of the State Legislature. Maine leases timber rights on the non-alienated 15,000 acres of the Indian Township Reservation to private companies, primarily the Georgia Pacific Corporation. The net income from these timber leases goes into the Passamaquoddy Tribe's Trust Fund, which is administered by the State Treasurer; until 1969 the annual interest on the Trust Fund was transferred each year to the State's general fund; now, however, legislation has been enacted which will annually compound the interest with the principal of the fund.

The use of these trust monies and their accounting have been an open question for some time. The Passamaquoddys indicate that they have not been able to get an adequate accounting for the past 75 years of the monies collected or expended. Within the last 10 years, as more attention has been focused on the plight of the Indians in Maine, larger sums of money have been expended. For instance, a major housing program was started and 30 dwellings were erected on the two reservations at a cost of $7,000 to $9,000 each. It would appear that the houses were built with little if any Indian involvement in the planning. Several Indians expressed substantial dislike for a number of the aspects of these houses, but are primarily concerned with the fact that the houses are now falling apart. Significantly, these houses were built using the principal of the Tribe's Trust Funds and almost completely exhausting it at the time, rather than with general fund appropriations. No federal dollars were involved in the construction of these homes or the inadequate sanitation system constructed to serve them.

Until 1965, the responsibility for administration of the reservations was vested in the Department of Health and Welfare of the State of Maine. Welfare expenditures reached about $160,000 a year. This amount averages a payment of approximately $250 per person annually. The unemployment rate for the tribe has been over 90% for as long as anyone can remember.

Indians who spoke with the Subcommittee staff on both reservations complained bitterly about one Indian agent who served the reservations for 17 years until his death in 1964. Their complaints included playing favorites with welfare payments, failing to inform the tribe that scholarships were available for Indians at the University of Maine, collusion with white squatters and bootleggers on the reservation, and general indifference to Indian needs. Although it is difficult to determine the validity of all the different allegations made about the agent, one thing is clear; he was despised and held in contempt by all the Indians on both reservations. Yet, without any doubt, he had almost total control of their lives.

The many examples of the almost total disinfranchisement of Maine Indians have probably best been summarized by a report by Miss Andrea Bear, a representative of the Maine Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission. Though never published, the report is fairly substantial and fairly well documented. No Passamaquoddys for example were allowed to vote in state or national elections until 1956, 32 years after Congress gave the vote to all Indians. No Passamaquoddy had ever served on a Maine jury until 1965. And there are still many complaints about law enforcement practices and violations of civil liberties on the reservations.

In late 1965 the Maine legislature transferred the guardianship of the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot Indians from the State Department of Health and Welfare to an Indian Affairs Department headed by a new commissioner who has promised the Indians "full Indian participation in the decisions affecting their lives." At the same time, the administrative responsibility for the schools on the reservation was placed in the Department of Education.

The period from 1965 to the present has been a period of efforts at reform and amelioration, with greater concern and more sophisticated thinking about educational and other problems. The two 8-year multigrade public schools, one on each Passamaquoddy reservation, and the 5-year multi-grade public school on the Penobscot Reservation have initiated several new programs, described below, under the administrative jurisdiction of the State Department of Education. Despite these beginnings, critical problems remain and will continue to plague the Reservations until fundamental economic and social problems are resolved. Furthermore, the fact that the Maine Indians have no direct relationship with the Federal government denies them access to Federal resources available to most other tribes. Both the Governor of Maine and the Commissioner of his Department of Indian Affairs have written to the Subcommittee requesting that action be taken to make Federal Indian appropriations available to the Indian population of the State. As the Commissioner wrote: "Having worked for both the B.I.A. and the Division of Indian Health for six years before assuming my present position, I can state unequivocally that the economic, social, physical and educational problems of concern to Maine's Indian tribes are identical to those found on western reservations."

4. Educational Performance

The Passamaquoddy student comes from an environment characterized by extreme poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing and sanitation facilities, and discrimination. The County in which he lives—Washington County—is the poorest in the state, with 41.8 percent of its families having earned under $3,000 in 1960. State funds are inadequate to truly alleviate these conditions, and one observer, Myra

Rothenberg, suggests that, "the problem of affecting change has been exacerbated by the multiplicity of institutions and individuals acting on the Passamaquoddy's 'behalf', with the consequent duplication of effort and criss-crossing of purposes and communication it engenders."

As noted earlier, the Department of Education has control of Indian schools. The Diocese of Portland continues to staff the schools and its Division of Indian Services provides some counseling and assistance on an educational and health level. Others concerned with the Passamoquoddy include Vista volunteers on the reservations, the American Friends Service Committee, the Unitarian Universalist Services Committee, Wesleyan University, and OEO-funded Community Action Program, and Head Start Program, and private individuals under government and foundation sponsorship.

Through grade eight, a day school on each Passamaquoddy reservation and a five grade day school on the Penobscot Reservation provides the children's schooling, after which they are bussed to secondary schools to which the State pays tuition. In 1968, children enrolled in the Indian day schools on the Penobscot, Pleasant Point, and Indian Township Reservations numbered 39, 94, and 35, respectively. Off-reservation enrollment for the same 1967–68 school year totalled 47, 24, and 29, respectively. Of the 100 students in off-reservation schools, 37 were attending elementary grades in neighboring towns on a tuition basis.

The Catholic Church has had a continuing relationship with Maine Indians for over 300 years and the Sisters of Mercy have staffed Reservation schools for over 100 years. Although efforts have been made in the past year to replace textbooks which contained undue religious emphasis, many whites surrounding the Reservation still believe the schools to be parochial and consequently feel that they have no responsibility to them.

Although no reliable statistics are available documenting such indices of educational performance as drop-out rates or achievement levels, all observers reach the uniform conclusion that the schools are failing to serve the Indian youngster. The best estimates of Passamaquoddy high school drop-out rate were 90%. Raised in homes where a language other than English may be spoken most of the time, the student is ill-equipped to adjust to the schools' full-time use of English. Some drop out before the eighth grade. Those who continue face the cultural and psychological upheaval of suddenly finding themselves a minority group in a white majority, an adjustment problem which has also been noted by psychologists studying some of the Western Indian tribes. Limited local opportunities for desirable employment, a desire to learn, and inadequate educational counseling contribute too to a situation in which the Indian youngster has been almost forced to leave school.

Yet, the situation is improving. During the first year of operation within the Department of Education, each school operated on the Indian reservations met the basic approval standards established for the public elementary schools of Maine. The pupil-teacher ratio has been reduced at all schools by adding to the permanent teaching staff. Library books have been purchased for all educational levels served by the schools. A Title III Elementary and Secondary Act project was approved to plan model schools in Maine's Unorganized Territories and on the Indian reservations. An adult education project for the Passamaquoddy is being funded under Title III of the Adult Education Act of 1966. Money totalling nearly $269,000 was provided by the Legislature to finance new classroom construction on all three reservations to replace inadequate facilities. And, in May of 1966, the State Board of Education approved for each of the five State Colleges, four Vocational-Technical Institutes, and three Schools of Practical Nursing one full scholarship each year for a qualified Indian which would include tuition fees and, if available, room-and-board, and as many "tuition only" scholarships as there are qualified Indian applicants. Through this program and other means, twenty Maine Indians are now enrolled in some form of higher education program.

Still other activities can be cited as evidence of progress since 1966: Reservations have participated in OEO Headstart programs: a remedial reading project was approved under Title I of ESEA for the Passamaquoddy schools at Pleasant Point and Indian Township for the 1967–68 school year; a special educational testing program of all Passamaquoddy students in Grades 1 through 8 was jointly sponsored by the State and the Diocese in July, 1968; a project is underway, supported by a grant from the William H. Donner Foundation, to develop and produce bi-cultural history teaching materials for use in both Indian and non-Indian schools; and a written Passamaquoddy language and other written materials about the language are being developed by a Dr. Willard Walker of Wesleyan University in co-operation with the Tribe.

A document prepared by the State Department of Education entitled *Indian Education in Maine (April, 1968)*, enumerates areas of concern that still remain. What is striking is the similarity of the list to lists of recommendations produced by other States and for other Tribes. The areas of concern mentioned include the following:

1. Bicultural counseling services at both the elementary and secondary need to be strengthened, and routine elementary and secondary school counseling services need to be expanded.
2. Tribal involvement in local education programs should be made possible and encouraged.
3. Bilingual educational programs in all subject areas should be developed.
4. Recreational facilities around each school should be provided for each site.
5. Educational programs should be developed and implemented throughout the State of Maine to upgrade the image of the Indian among all students.
6. The most desirable grade level for reservation students to attend neighboring schools should be determined for each reservation.
7. Increased vocational opportunities should be provided at both the pre-secondary and the secondary levels.
8. Indian adults should be trained and utilized in the schools as teacher aides.
9. Teacher training in the State should better prepare prospective teachers for working with the Indian child.

To these general areas of concern, the Subcommittee would add the following:

1. Restrictions should be removed that now prohibit non-Federal Indians from obtaining the same benefits as those open to tribes whose general program administration is provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Such action would affect about one hundred thousand state Indians in twenty-four states who are automatically excluded from programs which could assist them by virtue of not appearing on the BIA roster.
2. Along with the bilingual and bicultural efforts now ongoing, the curriculum should be restructured to be relevant to the Maine Indian's particular situation, to enable him to secure employment, and to facilitate rather than destroy the development of a sense of identity. Inservice training for all teachers working with Indian children should accompany and also precede such an effort and should include such topics as the notion of culture, cultural pluralism, Indian history of Maine, political and economic problems of the area, the characteristics of the Indian language, and the culture of the Tribe.
3. The creation of a local school board on each reservation should continue to be thoroughly explored with each tribe as a means of giving them some control over their children's education. Training in the functions and operations of a school board should be conducted and assistance provided on an on-call basis. Other ways of increasing community involvement with the school should also be attempted, including using the school facility for other community purposes, providing adult classes, etc.

This last point is a particularly important one, raising the larger question of local control in general, not just local control of education. Governor Curtis indicated to the Subcommittee that he felt the proper goal lay in the direction of returning substantial control of the land and resources of the government to the tribes; he suggested, however, that such actions would probably require some form of incorporation to give tribal lands actual legal status in the State. To date, the tribe has not investigated the steps needed to take such control of their own governance and livelihood.

To one familiar with the conditions of Indian life and the characteristics of Indian education elsewhere, the portrait that emerges of Indian life and education in the State of Maine is hardly surprising. Poverty, unemployment, poor health, poor housing, an impaired sense of dignity and self-worth, inferior educational attainment—all these become familiar descriptors. Nevertheless, some important new initiatives have been undertaken, and it remains to be seen if long-standing historical injustices and deprivations can be remediated by a variety of outside agencies. The key unresolved question is whether and how the Maine Indians can regain control over their own destiny.

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